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ABSTRACT

This study utilizes data analysis and field research, including three community conferences of Samoan leaders, service providers, and policymakers, to examine the size and nature of the Samoan communities in the United States, the economic structure of the migrant communities (including job training and experience, educational achievement, and English language skills), and the utilization of employment services. It finds that: (1) between 10% and 17% of Samoans may not have been counted in the 1980 census; (2) Samoans have higher rates of poverty and lower per capita incomes than average for the United States; (3) existing services do not and will not meet Samoan needs; and (4) Samoan youth's difficulties in school and the labor market have severe economic implications. The study recommends policy and programmatic solutions. Policy recommendations are for statutory recognition at the Federal level, and set-asides under the Job Training Partnership Act. The programmatic recommendations are: (1) census undercounting should be avoided in the future by Samoan participation in census planning; (2) Samoan cultural information and bilingual staff should be used more widely in providing training and services, and the specific needs of Samoans should be considered in planning services and modelling delivery; (3) linkages between schools and community should be strengthened and in-service training on Samoan culture and parent training should be provided; and (4) closer ties should be developed between schools and work settings; career awareness should be stressed in schools and training programs; and schools and training programs should take into account the needs of employers in the local labor markets that Samoan youth will enter. Appendixes provide: (1) a profile of fieldwork contacts and community conference participants, and (2) four tables showing range of population projections for Samoans living in the United States and the underlying assumptions. A 4-page bibliography concludes the document. (Author/CG)

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Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans

FINAL REPORT

July 1984

Prepared for:

Employment and Training Administration
United States Department of Labor

Prepared by the:

Literacy and Language Program
Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
300 S.W. Sixth Avenue
Portland, Oregon 97204

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16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)

Study finds that: 1) Up to 10-17% of Samoans may not have been enumerated in the 1980 Census; 2)Samoans have higher rates of poverty and lower per capita incomes than average for the U.S. 3)Existing services do not and will not meet Samoan needs 4)Samoan youth's difficulties in school and the labor market have severe economic implications. The study recommends policy and programmatic solutions. Policy recommendations are: 1)Statutory recognition at the federal level 2) JTPA set-asides. Programmatic recommendations are: 1)Programmatic decisions based on the 1980 Census counts take into account the possible undercount and avoid this problem in future by Samoan particpation in Census planning 2)Samoan culture and bilingual staff should be used more widely in priving training and services and the specific needs of Samoans considered in planning services and modelling delivery 3)Linkages between schools and community be strengthened and in-service training on Samoan culture, and parent training be provided in impacted districts 4) Closer ties be developed between schools and work settings, career awareness be stressed in schools and training programs, and schools and training programs take into account the needs of employers in the local labor markets Samoan youth will enter.

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SUMMARY

TITLE: Study of Unemployment, Poverty, and Training Needs of American Samoans

PROJECT SUMMARY: A data analysis and field research study commissioned by the United States Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration and conducted by the Literacy and Language Program, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, from July 1983 to July 1984. Contract budget: $207,892.

BACKGROUND: Many migrating Samoans experience severe problems in adjusting to life in Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. Problems suggested in previous studies included: high levels of young and economically dependent persons in the population; high levels of unemployment; low levels of achievement in areas of education, occupation, and income; a history of recent migration for most residents, resulting in a high proportion of unsettled migrants; low levels of preparation for successful entry into mainstrean American society; restricted utilization of education and employment opportunities; and impoverished access to social service programs due to lack of English proficiency.

METHODOLOGY: The study made use of existing statistical and documentary materials and undertook further analysis of available data, as well as assembling local data not previously isolated for Samoans. To complement these resources study staff conducted extensive fieldwork in the four regions of primary Samoan residence, metropolitan Honolulu, Los Angeles-Long Beach, the San Francisco Bay area, and Seattle-Tacoma. In each of these sites Samoan leaders, families, youth, and organizational representatives were interviewed. Parallel interviews were conducted with the staff of agencies delivering eduational, employment, training, and human services to Samoans. Staff investigated three major issues:

- o The size and nature of the Samoan communities in the United States
- o The economic structure of the migrant communities, including job experience and job training, job search skills, educational achievement and skills in English
- o The utilization of employment services, including systems of information dissemination, systems of social and economic support, and family organization.

Findings from analysis of statistics, from interviews with Samoan community members, all the perspectives and materials supplied by service personnel, and findings of four scholarly papers commissioned for the study were analyzed to prepare the tentative results of the research. The proposed findings and recommendations were reviewed by the study Advisory Board and subjected to discussion at Community Conferences of Samoan leaders, service providers, and policy makers in the three largest site communities.

FINDINGS: Information from all these sources converged on four major findings:

- o There is widespread concern among Samoan communities that the 1980 U.S. Census missed a large percentage of the Samoan population. Evaluation of Census data suggests that 10 to 17 percent of the population may not have been enumerated.
- o According to many socioeconomic indicators Samoans living in the United States are experiencing severe problems. They have higher rates of poverty and lower per capita incomes than other population groups.

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- The existing array of services is not adequate to meet the current and anticipated future needs of Samoans in the United States.
- Samoan youth are experiencing particular difficulties in school and in accessing the job market. This problem is especially serious because of its long-term implications for the economic and educational status of the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS: The study made both policy and programmatic recommendations.
Policy recommendations are:

- To assure a sustained, long-term programmatic focus on the American Samoans living in the United States, statutory recognition of their special history and needs is required at the federal level.
- JTPA set-asides for American Samoans are needed both for existing programs and to encourage the development of Samoan-specific programs as well.

Programmatic recommendations are:

- Any programmatic decisions based on the 1980 U.S. Census count should take into account the finding of this study that there is evidence of a substantial undercount of Samoans. The Samoan community should be involved in the planning of future Censuses.
- Programs should draw more effectively on Samoan culture and use Samoan staff more widely in providing training and services for American Samoans, both in programs serving the general population that have Samoans among their potential clients, and in programs that primarily serve Samoans. The specific needs of local Samoan communities should be considered in planning services and in choosing a model for service delivery.
- Educational policy makers must work to strengthen linkages between American schools and training programs and Samoan communities. Model parent programs should be developed that foster better understanding among Samoan parents of the expectations of American educational institutions. In-service training focusing on Samoan sociology and culture should be made available to staff in school districts and programs in which Samoan youth are enrolled.
- Closer ties between education and work settings need to be fostered for Samoan youth in the United States. Exemplary programs should be developed which link development of career awareness and vocational training in secondary schools. The labor needs of local employers should be considered in programs fostering skills development and job awareness among Samoan youth.

PREFACE

This Report represents a year-long effort by staff of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory; field staff in the Samoan communities in Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle; and an Advisory Board which has contributed significantly from the initial planning period through review of the final document.

The Advisory Board for the Study of Unemployment, Poverty, and Training Needs of American Samoans functioned actively and cooperatively to help shape the priorities for research and to assist project staff in developing contacts and strategies for the fieldwork in the four site communities. The Advisory Board met twice during the course of the project and generously made themselves available for additional consultation throughout the year. They took a leading role in locating interviewees, Community Conference participants, and field site staff in their own communities and played a prominent leadership and facilitative role in the conferences. Members of the Advisory Board were:

Mere T. Betham
Fa'atamali'i Falo
Gus Hannemann
Muliufi Hannemann
Enere Levi
Pat Luce
Rev. Su'esu'e S. Lutu
Chief Manolevasa Malaepule

Selaina Miller
Poto Misaalefua
Sululagi A. Palega
Falani Peters
Winona Rubin
C. E. Rags Scanlan
Petero Seanoa
Edna Taufaasau

The Study staff was headed by Stephen M. Reder, Project Director, and Loia M. Fiaui, Assistant Project Director. William Hadley and Mary Cohn served as primary field and research staff for the project. Stephen Reder was responsible for planning and management of the project, staff supervision, and liaison with the Department of Labor and the Advisory Board. He worked to interpret the findings and to formulate the conclusions and recommendations contained in this Report.

Loia Fiaui served as director of the fieldwork in all four Study sites, taking a strong leadership role in work with Samoan community members and community organizations. He conducted individual and group interviews and coordinated on-site staff efforts. His interpretation and facilitation skills

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contributed immeasurably to the success of the fieldwork and the Community Conferences. His analysis of the Samoan situation in the United States is strongly reflected in this Report.

Mary Cohn and William Hadley directed and conducted the fieldwork with Loia Fiaui in the Seattle-Tacoma and Honolulu and the Los Angeles-Long Beach and San Francisco Bay Area sites, respectively. These staff conducted on-site interviews; collected and analyzed data from a variety of sources (published, unpublished, and compiled specifically for the Study); hired and supervised the field site staff; and, together with the Director and Assistant Director, formulated the results of the research. In addition, William Hadley worked from the inception of the Study to develop the field research plan, formulate the specific goals for each site visit, and perform various critical administrative and contact work. These two staff researchers also served as lead writers for this Report.

The Study staff was augmented with Samoan field staff in each of the four site locales. These bilingual fieldworkers undertook interviews, data collection, and summation and analysis of the information gathered in their own communities. They gave generously of their time, bringing strong personal networks and local insight to the project. Serving as field staff were:

Timena Brown, Honolulu
Chief Fuiavailili M. Fanene,
San Francisco
Samuel Malepeai-Tofaeono,
San Francisco
Jack Mason, Los Angeles
Rev. Emau S. Petaia, Seattle
James Pouesi, Los Angeles
Fa'auma Seui, Honolulu
S. Justine Suafai, San Francisco
Feresika S. Bird Taualo, Seattle

This Study relied on, and could not have been completed without, the generous cooperation of Samoan families, individuals, and organizations and social, educational, training, employment and other human service providers in each of the four site metropolitan areas. Project staff were received with openess and interest in each community studied. Their willingness to participate is a measure of their commitment to improving the quality of Samoan life in the United States. The project wishes to extend sincere thanks to the many individuals--community and church leaders, family members, youth, and professionals--who gave of their time and their thoughtful consideration to the Study. The findings and recommendations reported here owe much to their insight.

The Study commissioned four papers pertaining to the education and training needs of Samoans in the United States. These papers are available, separate from this Report, through the National Technical Information System. Commissioned authors were: Geoffrey R. Hayes and Michael J. Levin, who prepared two papers: "A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States", derived from 1980 U. S. Census data and related materials, and "How Many Samoans? An Evaluation of the 1980 Census Count of Samoans in the United States", an analysis of population counts from a variety of sources; Robert W. Franco, who reported on "Modern Samoan Mobility and Urban Adaptation"; and Bradd Shore and Martha Platt, who addressed "Communicative Barriers to Samoans' Training and Employment in the U. S."

Additionally, governmental and service agencies and organizations in all of the site communities and individual scholars gave generously of their time to further the research of this Study. Many of the data appearing here were made available by individuals within these organizations; some materials were compiled especially to meet our requests. Craig Janes and Douglas Roblin provided access to their research in progress. This assistance is particularly gratefully acknowledged.

The preparation of Study documents benefited from the careful attention of still other staff. Susie Barfield and Lynne Thomson provided the support work that made coordination and production possible. Barbara Wedlake provided invaluable assistance in the literature review. This report was edited by Nancy Faires Conklin, with the assistance of Karen Reed Green and Janise Hurtig.

United States Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration staff who monitored the progress of this Study and facilitated the work whenever possible were Delores Battle, George Koch, Ron Jones, and Beverly Bachemin. The assistance of the U. S. Bureau of the Census is also gratefully acknowledged.

To all these individuals and agencies, we give our heart-felt thanks. Despite all this assistance, errors may still remain; the project staff assumes full responsibility. We genuinely hope that our efforts will come to benefit the Samoan people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE i
    List of Figures ix
    List of Tables xi

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Congressional Mandate 1

Purpose 2

Methodology 3
    Study Task Outline 4
    Role of the Advisory Board 5
    Fieldwork 6
    Community Conferences 7

Structure of the Final Report 8

II. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 9

Traditional Samoan Culture 9
    Sociopolitical Organization 9
    Economic System 10
    The Church 11

Historical Developments in the U.S. Administration of American Samoa: 1872-1984 11
    Historical Responsibility of the United States for American Samoans 13

Acculturative Changes in American Samoa: 1900-1945 14

Migration to Hawaii and the U.S. Mainland 15
    Major U.S. Communities 16
    Varying Economic Conditions in Host Communities 19

Issues Arising from Cultural and Historic Factors 20

III. FINDINGS 23

Evaluation of the 1980 United States Census Count of Samoans Residing in the United States 24
    Sources of Concern 24
    Evaluation of the 1980 U.S. Census Count 26
    Selected Demographic Characteristics 31

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Page

Social and Economic Status of Samoans Residing in the United States 38
- Economic Profile 39
- Education Profile 46
- English Language Proficiency Profile 53
- Employment Profile 58
- Factors in Employment 65

Service Provision and Utilization 68
- Methodology 69
- Factors Affecting Service Participation 70
- Program Participation 77
- Models for Programs Providing Services to Samoans 90

Samoan Youth and the Future 95
- Samoan Youth in Schools 96
- Factors Affecting School Performance 103
- Samoan Youth and Work 107

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 111

Need for Federal Intervention 111
- Current Needs 111
- Future Needs 113
- Implications for Service Delivery 113

Statutory Recognition of American Samoans in the United States 114

Set-asides Under the Job Training Partnership Act 116

Legal Requirements for Statutory Recognition 118

V. PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS 121

Use of Census Data 121

Program Planning and Design 123
- Samoan Access to Services 123
- Samoan Bilingual Staff and Samoan Culture 123
- Need for a Variety of Service Models 124
- Community Cooperation 125

Community and School Linkages 125

Education and Work Linkages 127

Page

APPENDICES

A. Profile of Fieldwork Contacts and Community Conference Participants 129

B. Range of Population Projections for Samoans Living in the United States and the Underlying Assumptions 135

BIBLIOGRAPHY 141

LIST OF FIGURES

page

1. Population Pyramid for total U.S. and for Samoans in the U.S.: 1980 35

2. Percent Distribution of Samoans Families with Incomes below the Poverty Level, in the U.S. and selected States: 1980 41

3. Average per capita Income of Samoans and selected Groups: 1980 45

4. Percent Distribution of Samoans high school Graduates aged 25 and over, in the U.S. and selected States: 1980 48

5. Percent Distribution of Samoans aged 25 and over with four or more Years of College, in the U.S. and selected States: 1980 50

6. Percent Distribution of Samoan Workers by Occupation, in the United States and selected States: 1980 64

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LIST OF TABLES

page

1. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMAs) with largest Samoan Populations: 1980 17

2. Size of 1979 Labor Force in Areas with Samoan Populations 20

3. Estimates of the total Samoan Population in the United States in 1951 27

4. Estimates of the Samoan Population in the United States 1951-1980, in five-year Increments 28

5. Comparison of estimated Samoan Population and Samoans counted in the 1980 United States Census 29

6. Projected Samoan Population for the United States for various Years 30

7. Median Age of the Samoan Population in the United States and selected States: 1980 32

8. Median Ages of selected Groups in the United States: 1980 32

9. Percent Distribution of the Samoan Population and the United States Population by Age Group: 1980 33

10. Children ever born per 1,000 in the United States by Race and Age Group of Women: 1980 34

11. Family Characteristics for Samoans in the United States: 1980 36

12. Persons per Family for Samoans in the United States and selected States: 1980 37

13. Percent of Samoans living in Poverty in the United States: 1979:1980 39

14. Percent of Persons living in Poverty in the United States, Samoans and total Population: 1979:1980 40

15. Summary poverty Measures of Samoans in the United States and selected States: 1979:1980 42

16. Percent Distribution of Samoan household Income in the United States and selected States: 1980 43

17. Household Size for Samoans in the United States and for selected States: 1980 44

18. Per capita Income of selected Groups in the United States and selected States: 1979:1980 46

19. Percent of high school and college Graduates for Samoans aged 25 and over in the United States and selected States: 1980 47

20. Percent Distribution of Years of Schooling for Samoan Men and Women aged 25 Years and over in the United States and selected States: 1980 51

page

21. Proportions of high school Graduates for Asian and Pacific Islander Populations 25 Years and over in the United States and selected States, by Sex: 1980 53

22. Percent Distribution of Language spoken at Home by Samoans and Ability to speak English in the United States and selected States: 1980 55

23. Percent Distibution of English language Ability of Samoans in the United States by Age: 1980 55

24. Per capita Income of unrelated Samoan Individuals in the United States and Ability to speak English: 1980 56

25. Percent Distribution of English language Ability and Samoans in Poverty in the United States: 1980 57

26. Labor force Status of Samoans in the United States and selected States: 1980 59

27. Labor force Status of Samoan Youth in the United States and slected States: 1980 60

28. Number and percent Distribution of Samoan Workers by Industry in the United States and selected States: 1980 62

29. Percent Distribution of Samoan workers by Occupation in the United States and selected States: 1980 63

30. Weakness of governemnt Programs as perceived by Respondents 72

31. Effects of Samoan Staff on program Participation by Samoans in Seattle-Tacoma Area employment Program 73

32. Sources of Help to the Respondents, by given Problems 75

33. Percentage of Samoan Households recieving public assistance Income in the United States and selected States: 1980 78

34. Active public assistance Cases City and County of San Francisco: March 1984 80

35. "Other Pacificans" participating in CETA Programs, City and County of San Francisco: July 1974 to September 1983 84

36. Samoan Participation in CETA Programs, City and County of Honolulu: October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1982 85

37. Samoan Participation in JTPA Programs, City and County of Honolulu Service Delivery Area: October 1983 to May 1984 87

38. Percent Distribution of Samoans enrolled in School in the United States and selected States by Age: 1980 97

39. Number of Samoans enrolled in School in the United States and selected States by Type of School: 1980 98

40. Hawaii State Test of Essential Competencies, State Summaries: Fall 1982 101

page

41. Stanford Achievement Test Stanine Profile, Samoan and Hawaii State Total Scores 101

42. Percent of 10th and 11th Graders not passing Los Angeles Unified School District Reading, Writing and Math Proficiency Tests: October 1983 102

43. Percent Distribution of English speaking Abilities among Samoans ageds 5 to 17 in the United States and selected States: 1980 103

44. Percent Disribution of Samoans with limted English Ability in the United States and selected States, by Type of School: 1980 104

B-1. Projected Samoan Population of the United States: 1980-2000 137

B-2. Projection Assumptions for Samoans in the United States: 1980-2000 138

B-3. Four Estimates of the annual Samoan Population in the United States: 1951-1980 139

B-4. Estimated Undercount of Samoans in the 1980 United States Census 140

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I

INTRODUCTION

In July 1983 the United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Division, contracted with Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory to conduct a project, the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans. This report presents the findings and recommendations of the Study.

Congressional Mandate

During conference committee consideration of the Job Training Partnership Act, the United States Congress expressed concern about the unique and special problems facing American Samoans migrating to the United States (Pub. 6, 97-300, 1982). Many migrating families appeared to be experiencing difficulties in adjusting to life in the United States. Congress expressed particular concern with poverty, educaticnal attainment, employment status, and English language ability among American Samoans.

During these deliberations, Congress stated that it has:

> . . . a special responsibility for the Samoan people that grows out of the treaties of friendship and commerce negotiated in the last century and the trust relationship created when the islands were ceded to the United States in the early 1900's. (H.R. 97-889, 1982:109-110)

Congress also found it required more information about American Samoans in the United States, "In order that Congress can be better informed on how best to meet the employment and training needs of the Samoan people. . . ." Therefore, Congress called for a report that "details the dimensions of unemployment and poverty among American Samoans and recommends specific actions that can be taken to carry out our historic responsibilities to these people." (H.R. 97-889,1982:109-110)

Purpose

The purpose of the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans is to document the social and economic status of Samoans residing in the United States and to recommend steps that can be taken to improve conditions for American Samoans in the United States. It provides basic information pertinent to the questions of Samoan migrants' unemployment and poverty and their utilization of employment and social services. The Study pays particular attention to needs for vocational training, employment services and other social services.

Several key issues have been raised about the social and economic status of American Samoans residing in the United States. Samoans who have migrated to the United States appear to experience severe difficulties in adjusting to life in Hawaii and the mainland. The relative youth of the Samoan population as well as the high proportion of economically dependent persons contribute to this concern. Samoans seem to encounter difficulty in accessing local labor markets—unemployment is high and incomes are low. The Study investigates these questions.

Concern about the poor access of American Samoans to existing services, including employment, educational, and social services, has been widely expressed. Insufficient access to these services may hinder the attainment of economic self-sufficiency by Samoan families in the United States. Therefore the Study investigates service utilization patterns and identifies barriers to appropriate utilization of services. Further, the Study attempts to characterize the long-range needs of American Samoans. Since a high proportion of Samoans in the United States are young people, investigation of the appropriateness of existing services for Samoan youth is given separate attention.

Resources and services are often allocated on the basis of U.S. Census data; therefore Census counts are of great interest to the Samoan communities. The 1980 U. S. Census enumerated Samoans as a separate group for the first time. Prior to the 1980 Census, only local population estimates were available. Many of these local estimates vary widely from the 1980 Census count for Samoans. Local Samoan communities have questioned the validity of 1980 Census figures, claiming a significant number of Samoans were not enumerated. Calls for a validation of Census figures have been widely heard.

Thus, the Study addressed four significant issues concerning Samoans living in the United States.

- How are Samoans in the United States faring socially and economically?
- Does the existing array of services effectively meet the current needs of Samoan migrants?
- Does the existing array of services meet the anticipated future needs of Samoan communities in the United States?
- How do population projections based on standard demographic techniques and other demographic data about Samoans compare with the 1980 U. S. Census counts of Samoans in the United States?

Methodology

Study activities placed an emphasis on documenting the extent of poverty and unemployment among Samoans and their needs for job training, employment training, and other related social services. Methodology was designed to collect a wide spectrum of opinion within major Samoan communities in the United States as well as a broad range of documentary information.

Approximately 86 percent of Samoans in the United States reside in the three states of California, Hawaii, and Washington. No other state contains more than two percent of the total Samoan population in the United States. Consequently, Study activities were focused on Samoans living in areas of their greatest concentration in each of these three states. Various research activities throughout the project focused on obtaining information about Samoans in Honolulu, Seattle-Tacoma, the San Francisco Bay area, and in Southern California, especially the Los Angeles-Long Beach area.

Three different bodies of information have been gathered and synthesized for this Study. The first set of information consists of existing secondary data: data bases, local studies, scholarly research, and other information about specific Samoan communities in the United States. Second, the Report draws on four original scholarly papers commissioned for the Study. A third set of data consists of qualitative and quantitative information collected by the Study on-site in the states of Hawaii, California, and Washington. In all its phases, the Study sought out both information which was specific to a particular locale and information applicable to all Samoans residing in the United States.

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Study Task Outline

Project tasks commenced in August 1983 and have taken nearly one year to complete. The following outline briefly describes the six major activities undertaken for the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans.

1. Develop an Advisory Board

    1.1 Select Advisory Board members from California, Hawaii, Washington, and American Samoa to provide a broad representation of Samoan and service provider perspectives on the problems faced by American Samoans residing in the United States.

2. Analyze secondary data

    2.1 Conduct a broad review and synthesis of the literature relevant to the Study issues.

    2.2 Identify pertinent data about American Samoans, assess the quality of the data, and incorporate these data in subsequent analyses.

    2.3 Identify gaps in existing information.

3. Commission scholarly papers

    3.1 Commission four scholarly papers on selected topics relevant to Study goals. Select topics to help fill existing gaps in information. The four papers selected are:

    - How Many Samoans? An Evaluation of the 1980 Census Count of Samoans in the United States (Hayes & Levin, 1983a).
    - A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States: Demography, Social, and Economic Characteristics (Hayes & Levin, 1983b).
    - Modern Samoan Mobility and Urban Adaptation (Franco, 1984).
    - Communicative Barriers to Samoans' Training and Employment in the United States (Shore & Platt, 1984).

4. Conduct additional on-site research

    4.1 Based on the literature, database search, and suggestions from the Advisory Board, identify additional research needs and appropriate methodology for gathering the required information.

4.2 Based on results of 4.1, conduct open-ended personal discussions, informal small group meetings, and other selected activities to gather needed information about local conditions and needs. These activities took place in four locales: Honolulu, the San Francisco Bay area, Seattle-Tacoma, and the Los Angeles-Long Beach area. Fieldwork was conducted January through March 1984.

4.3 Collect other needed documentary information from agency reports, service records, and other pertinent sources.

5. Convene local conferences

5.1 Plan and conduct three Community Conferences in locations with large populations of Samoans: Honolulu; the San Francisco Bay area; and the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, with representation from San Diego and Orange Counties. Discuss conclusions of commissioned papers and other research findings at these Conferences to elicit opinions about actions that could be taken to carry out the United States' responsibilities to American Samoans.

6. Write Final Report

6.1 Prepare a Final Report summarizing the findings obtained from the various Study activities. The Final Report incorporates findings from the literature review, analysis of existing data sets, on-site research conducted in the four locales, the four commissioned papers, and discussions at the three local conferences.

Role of the Advisory Board

The first task of Study staff was to assemble a representative board of Samoan advisors to serve as a guiding body for the project. Leaders of Samoan communities in the site communities in California, Hawaii, and Washington; from American Samoa; and others in positions key to the project were selected. The Advisory Board met twice as a group: in August 1983, to set the research priorities and to confer on proposed methodology, and in April 1984, to review the findings and recommendations and to plan the three Community Conferences. The Advisory Board requested and undertook responsibility for informing their communities about the project. They suggested interviewees and field staff and assisted in liaison between Study staff and their communities.

At least four Advisory Board members were present at each of the Community Conferences, where they took a leading role in forwarding discussion; in Hawaii the Board also recommended and conducted an open community meeting in conjunction with the invited Conference.

The Advisory Board previewed all Study reports and commented on a specially distributed version of the draft of this Final Report. Members of the Advisory Board are listed in the Preface.

Fieldwork

The poverty, unemployment and training needs that are the focus of this Study are largely undocumented. This Study therefore augmented published and unpublished data and information on Samoans in the United States with extensive interviews and assembly of local data about the population. Each of the four primary areas of Samoan concentration were studied, with NWREL staff complemented by field staff hired from the target communities. Fieldwork took place in the months of February and March in Honolulu, the San Francisco Bay area, the Los Angeles area, and Seattle-Tacoma. In each location Samoan community representatives and providers of educational, employment, training, and human services were interviewed. Details of the number and types of interviewees are given in Appendix A.

Study staff met with Samoan individuals, families, and groups. In the four sites 73 families were interviewed, with no less than 17 families per site. Matai, ministers, heads of Samoan community-based organizations, and other leaders were interviewed, as well as Samoan bilinguals on service provider staffs. A total of 167 individual interviews were held with community members. Additionally, 63 group meetings were held, at which youth, church members, women, seniors, and other special interest groups discussed their needs and their perspectives on service provision and ways to improve it. Seventeen meetings were held with youth alone.

Study staff also solicited the point of view of service providers. A total of 79 service providers were individually interviewed at the four sites. These included 15 persons in human services, four in justice services, 22 educators, and 25 employment and training professionals. Additionally, ten staff of Samoan community-based organizations providing services were interviewed. Staff of three members of Congress representing highly impacted areas also met with Study researchers. Of the 79 service providers interviewed, 31 were themselves Samoan; four meetings of bilingual service providers were also conducted.

About 15 percent of the service provider personnel interviewed held policy making positions. These included a community college dean, principals of high schools with large Samoan enrollments, a city director of bilingual-bicultural education, three employment and training service directors, a Private Industry Council planning coordinator, and a welfare supervisor.

From these interviews and discussions and materials and data supplied by agencies with whom researchers met, the Study staff has developed an analysis of the needs of the Samoan communities and the present and prospective abilities of service providers to meet these needs. The discussions of Findings 2 and 3, below, derive in significant part from this research.

Community Conferences

As mandated by the Department of Labor, the Study conducted Community Conferences in the three sites of largest Samoan concentration: Honolulu, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. At each Conference tentative findings and recommendations of the Study were presented and discussed. Invitees included Samoans working in agencies serving the community; Samoan leaders, including *matai* and ministers; and policy makers and government officials interested in the issues. The participants in these Conferences are profiled in Appendix A.

Roughly half of the 108 Community Conference participants were Samoans. The Samoan communities were represented by 47 leaders, *matai*, ministers, and presidents and directors of community-based organizations. Forty-nine service providers attended, including ten in human services, two in justice, nine educators, six in employment and training, and three public officials or staff. Policy makers among this group included a city school board member, a city council member, three high school principals, a director of bilingual-bicultural education, administrative and directoral staff from four employment and training and one state labor and industrial relations department, the president of a Private Industry Council, and three heads of community service delivery agencies.

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Structure of the Report

The subsequent chapters of this Report consider the findings of the Study and their implications for policy and program development. In Chapter II the cultural and historical background of Samoans is briefly outlined, tracing the origins and the impact of United States' involvement in American Samoa and the subsequent migration of Samoans to Hawaii and the mainland states. More extensive reviews of the cultural and historical factors can be found in the Study's previous reports to the Department of Labor, in the commissioned papers, and in the cited literature.

Chapter III reports the principal findings of the Study, based on review of existing literature, secondary data, government documents, commissioned papers and other reports as well as the Study's own on-site research of the four communities selected for further investigation. This chapter constitutes the major portion of this Report.

Chapters IV and V draw together the findings of the preceding research to suggest recommendations for policy and program, respectively. Chapter IV addresses the specific policy questions of status recognition for American Samoans and set-asides in the Job Training Partnership Act. Chapter V makes programmatic recommendations for existing employment, training, and related services in view of the needs of the American Samoan population identified in the Study.

The Report concludes with a bibliography and appendices offering additional methodological and statistical information.

II

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Traditional Samoan Culture

Sociopolitical Organization

The seven islands of American Samoa, comprising a total of 76.2 square miles, straddle latitude 14° South in the Pacific Ocean. They lie approximately 600 miles southeast of Fiji and 2,420 miles south of Hawaii. The main island of Tutuila and the Manu'a group lying 60 miles to the east are the easternmost island members of a larger archipelago which includes the islands of Upolu and Savaii, today recognized as the independent State of Western Samoa.

The traditional settlement pattern in Samoa is distinctively coastal in nature (Watters, 1958a), with discrete villages situated on gentle beach slopes at the heads of inlets. These villages are acknowledged as the most integrated units of sociopolitical structure in Samoan society; each village is a functionally autonomous unit of government (Keesing, 1934:18; Cool, 1958:71; Davidson, 1967;16; Smith, 1975:1) and the highest effective political unit with authorized means of enforcing group regulations.

The 'aiga or extended family. The basic social units within the village are the various 'aiga or extended families and through these units all basic necessities of life are provided: food, shelter, and participation in major socioceremonial events (Weston, 1972). The 'aiga are corporate descent groups, with flexible membership rules that have permitted members to trace descent through either female or male lines. The 'aiga consists of various degrees of membership: active members who reside on 'aiga land and fulfill the required economic demands; less involved members who are geographically dispersed, yet still keep their kinship ties active through economic assistance; and potential members who have neither residence nor contributory means of validating membership, yet who can prove kin relationship. The entire kinship system is noted for its structural flexibility and fluid membership. Composition may number over 1,000.

The _'aiga_ is corporate in nature and exercises control over _'aiga_ property consisting of land, house sites, ceremonial goods, and chiefly titles. These _'aiga_ titles are installed by the whole descent group upon a suitable candidate known as a _matai_ (chief). All titles within an _'aiga_ are ranked, and the senior title holder wields considerable authority over the entire _'aiga_ membership: he/she controls and administers the allocation of all land, house sites, and gardening plots, and retains the right of eviction. He/she is also vested with the authority to raise manpower generated from within the _'aiga_ ranks. All young, untitled men in the _'aiga_ are obliged to render labor service to their _matai_, thereby forming the backbone of the Samoan workforce.

The fono or council. Although the _'aiga_ administers its own internal affairs, a village level organization known as the _fono_ or council crosscuts kinship groups and more properly addresses the organizational needs of the entire village. The _fono_ is composed of all the _matai_ in the village. The _matai_ are acknowledged within the meetings according to their relative rank through the ordered recitation of titles at each meeting by the senior talking chief. The _fono_ is a central organizational structure in the traditional Samoan village.

A major feature of the _'aiga_-_fono_-_matai_ organization is its tendency toward pronounced competetivism. The '_aiga_ itself is a segmentary descent group with each subsection headed by a _matai_ of varying rank. Each family _matai_ has an obligation to represent his/her family at the _fono_ and ensure that the needs of the _'aiga_ are met. These subunits generally cohere politically from least to most inclusive in a straightforward fashion; the ultimate authority for the family group resides with the senior _matai_. Political alliances at the village level or above, however, are not so clear cut. Alliances established between kin groups or villages are dynamic processes, traditionally transitory and fragile. Each _matai_ in these extra-kin arenas is anxious to utilise his/her various _'aiga_ connections in order to enhance the status of the _'aiga_ and perhaps increase the rank of the title.

Economic System

Within each traditional village the major land-owning units were the _'aiga_, each one of which controlled several parcels of dispersed land. Through this system the various kin groups had relatively equal access to all types of food crops and were, therefore, self-sufficient food producing units. The manager of all food producing and redistributing activities was the matai for each family group. He/she also directed all ceremonial exchanges which are an appropriate and important part of social events (e.g., births, marriages, funerals, installation of chiefs, ceremonial inter-village visits). The economy of traditional Samoa was based on agricultural subsistence through a modified version of swidden cultivation (Watters, 1958b:340-343). Without developed technology for storing surpluses, extra food supplies were either consumed or distributed immediately through village and family exchange networks. Continual distribution and exchange of resources marked the traditional non-cash economy.

The Church

The church holds a central point in Samoan life and wields enormous influence in both daily and national affairs. The first Christian church in Samoa was established by the Tongan Wesleyan Missionaries in 1828, and conversion to Christianity was accomplished rapidly (Gilson, 1969; Pitt, 1970; Pitt & McPherson, 1974). Foreign missionaries were not able to provide services at all levels demanded by villages and the practice of training Samoan pastors to establish and serve village churches soon began. Today, several churches are represented in each village in Samoa and the pastors occupy a central position of respect within the community.

In the past, it was the organization of churches and pastors that assumed the responsibility for education within the villages. The network of church-run schools and the enthusiasm of the Samoans for education was so effective that, in 1900, the first American administrator of American Samoa was astonished to learn that the level of Samoan literacy was higher than the level of (English) literacy in the mainland United States (Capt. Tilly, in Wedlake, 1983).

Historical Developments in the U.S. Administration of American Samoa
1872-1984

The responsibilities of the United States in Samoa extend back over a century. The United States obtained permission to build a naval station in Pago Pago Harbor in 1872; accepted a treaty of friendship and commerce in 1878; and joined with Britain and Germany in exercising rights over Samoa in 1889. Upon signing the Berlin Treaty in 1899, the United States assumed control of the Samoan islands east of 171° West longitude, leaving the

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islands west of that line under the control of a German protectorate. The American islands were placed under the direction of the Department of the Navy for use as a refueling station.

Between 1900 and 1904, the Samoan *matai* ceded six islands to the American authority, but the United States Congress did not officially recognize these cessions until February 20, 1929. At this time, American Samoa finally became an unincorporated territory of the United States and American Samoans were given status as U.S. nationals. The years between 1929 and 1948 were marked by general American indifference and lack of specific administrative goals and policy, and led to the emergence in the 1920s of a native political movement known as the *Mau*. The *matai* leading this organization demanded recognition from the American government for American Samoans, and indicated that the members of the movement wanted full American citizenship rights and the replacement of the Naval administration by a civilian form of governance (Wedlake, 1983). Congressional interest in American Samoa lagged as the depression that began in 1929 shifted the focus of American concern more exclusively to internal problems. Between 1930 and 1936 a number of proposed organic acts died in Congress and Naval rule continued relatively unchanged (Leibowitz, 1980). During World War II American Samoa was the site of a large naval base and a bastion against Japanese forces occupying other Pacific islands.

Following the War, American Samoans initiated two separate efforts to acquire American citizenship. These, like previous efforts, failed. In 1948 the Code of American Samoa was amended to provide for a bicameral legislature with advisory capacities, indicating a considerable concession toward the broadening of Samoan political responsibilities. In May 1949 President Truman, by executive order, transferred American Samoa from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior (Coyner, 1974:89).

In 1953 considerable reorganization took place in the American Samoa legislature and judiciary, and secret balloting was implemented for the first time in Samoan politics. Work begun on a territorial constitution in 1953 was completed in 1960 and the new constitution became effective October 17, 1960. The legislature assumed increased power over its previous advisory role. A further reorganization of the legislature was effected through a 1966 revision of the constitutional charter, increasing the representation of all constituent districts. In addition, the veto power of the American Governor was reduced and the authority of legislature to appropriate funds was expanded.

During the 1970s efforts to convert the positions of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor to elective offices dominated American Samoa politics. Three times the American Samoan people rejected these proposals in popular vote. However in August 1976 a fourth referendum on this question was successful. Peter Tali Coleman became the first popularly elected Governor of American Samoa on November 22, 1977.

American Samoa is a territorial possession of the United States under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. American Samoans are nationals of the U.S. and have right of free entry to the U.S. They are not U.S. citizens, but may become so after meeting special residency requirements in the U.S. as established by law and meeting other standard citizenship requirements.

Historical Responsibility of United States for American Samoans

The 1929 Senate joint resolution vesting all power over Samoa in the President of the United States still remains in force today. (U. S. Congress, Senate Joint Resolution 110, 70th Congress, 2nd Sess., 45 Stat. 1253, 1929.) United States historical responsibility toward Samoa was emphasized from the outset of Samoan-U.S. relations and continues unchanged to the present. The United States accepted a trust relationship to protect American Samoan interests. Such a relationship has existed since the United States assumed sovereignty over Samoan lands and, in the process, limited Samoan authority over such lands. A long line of historical precedents indicates the U.S. Government's commitment to maintaining its trust responsibilities to American Samoans. Both custom and statute document the unique relationship the United States has accepted in carrying out its historical responsibility toward American Samoans.

Acculturative Changes in American Samoa: 1900-1945

The islands of American Samoa are distinguished by several features that seriously limited their economic development after 1900. The islands are exceptionally rugged, with precipitous slopes that are not easily cultivated. One estimate suggests that only 15 percent of the land area can be considered suitable for subsistence agriculture (West, 1961:124). The islands are also small, particularly in contrast with those of Western Samoa. This further constrains economic development and population growth.

Enormous population growth and socioeconomic change were effected by the establishment of the Naval station at Pago Pago. In 1900, the first U.S. Census of American Samoa enumerated 3,923 persons on Tutuila and 1,756 persons on the Manu'a group. The population expanded to 8,058 in 1920 (Evans, 1922:43). By 1930 the population was 10,055 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1932) and by 1950 it was nearly 19,000 (Lewthwaite, et al., 1973). Sustained population growth in American Samoa, attributable to improved health care, could not be supported by the limited land suitable for subsistance agriculture. This increasing scarcity of land was intensified by internal migration patterns. The pull of Pago Pago as an administrative, educational, medical, and employment center resulted in a disproportionate population growth in the region of the capital, further aggravating the paucity of suitable agricultural land in the area.

As a result of these stresses, American Samoans began to adopt new economic strategies which centered around the opportunities presented by the U.S. Navy in Pago Pago. At first, the Samoans sold their copra to the traders using the naval station, and in 1903 they requested that the U.S. administration handle all aspects of the trade. Cash incomes derived from this trade became important to the districts where copra was the sole source of cash income, especially Manu'a. American Samoans also became increasingly engaged in selling trinkets to shipboard personnel when the fleet called at Pago Pago.

Employment with the Navy carried considerable prestige. In 1927, of 147 Navy personnel at the base, 76 were Samoans. Most were members of the Samoan enlisted guardsmen or Fitafita. These Samoans earned salaries only slightly less than their American counterparts. Additional Samoans obtained cash incomes working for the Navy on the many continuing construction projects.

The economic repercussions of their employment with the Navy were felt throughout the 'aiga network and the largely non-cash native economy.

All these opportunities for wage earning, combined with the payment of salaries to native Samoans in official positions, resulted in a large flow of cash into the native economy, progressively altering the traditional economy and patterns of living. In particular, the disproportionately high economic status of the younger, employed Samoans posed a serious threat to the power base of the elders and the traditional matai. The young members of the Fitafita were the primary source of cash for their 'aiga, thereby accruing prestige vastly out of proportion to their traditional status (Darden, 1952:13).

Other change-related factors also threatened the power base of the matai. The value of the 'aiga lands decreased because of the decline in the importance of subsistence agriculture. Young Samoans now had alternatives to working the family garden plots under the supervision of their matai.

Consequently, to maintain their prestige, the matai needed their own sources of cash incomes. They were therefore bound firmly into a relationship with the American administration which dispensed such favors. At the same time, the matai suffered a serious erosion of traditional authority due to American administrative policy which increasingly subjected Samoan leadership to its jurisdiction (Leibowitz, 1980:232-246).

Economically and politically, the people of American Samoa became increasingly drawn into dependency on the U.S. Navy, and to relationships within the American political-territorial sphere. During World War II, the greatly increased presence of the American military overwhelmed the Samoan population in numbers and intensity of activities (Young, 1972:71; Lewthwaite, et al., 1973:134). Cash cropping of copra ceased entirely, and employment in construction and stevedoring increased commensurately.

Migration to Hawaii and the U.S. Mainland

The postwar years, up to 1951, offered few economic opportunities through which the American Samoans could support the style of living they attained during the War years. With the removal of the U.S. Navy base in Samoa to Pearl Harbor and the disbanding of the Fitafita guard, opportunities for wage employment began to disappear. A return to subsistence agriculture was not feasible for the increased population (Lewthwaite, et al., 1973:134).

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In June 1951 many members of the Fitafita sailed off on the Naval transport General R. L. Howze to enlist in Hawaii. The removal of the Fitafita and their dependents to Hawaii signified the first substantial utilization of migration as a means of achieving employment and educational goals. In 1952 almost 1,000 reported dependents of Samoan U.S Naval personnel were brought to Honolulu by the President Jackson, triggering the waves of migration which would soon develop to high levels and which continue today. Military-based migrations were a widespread response to the strong population growth and decreased wage labor opportunities. Many other untitled men chose American cities instead of the family plantation, migrating as civilians (Franco, 1983, 1984).

From these beginnings, sizeable in-migrant communities have developed in the Honolulu, Seattle-Tacoma, San Francisco, Los Angeles-Long Beach, and San Diego metropolitan areas, with smaller settlements in Missouri and Utah. While some Samoans have taken up stable residence in one metropolitan area, the population as a whole is characterised by a circular migation pattern to and from Samoa and among the Samoan communities in the United States (Franco, 1978, 1983, 1984). Many Samoans spend brief or longer periods in residence in the Samoan islands subsequent to their initial residence in the United States. Membership in households fluctuates as individuals visit back and forth, trying their luck in the local U.S. labor market and, failing that, returning to Samoa for a time. Samoan youth are particularly affected by such migration, attending school in Samoa and in the United States, alternately living in an English-language environment and a Samoan-language setting.

The 1980 U.S. Census reported 41,948 Samoans in the United States (See Table 1 and note). Samoans resided in all 50 states, although they were concentrated on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Most Samoans reside in urban areas.

Major U.S. Communities

While Samoan communities in the United States share many cultural similarities and social and economic problems, conditions in each vary with the particular structure of the local Samoan community and the prevailing economic conditions of the locale to which they have migrated. Table 1 lists the largest settlement areas identified in the 1980 U.S. Census (the adequacy of the Census figures themselves will be considered subsequently). Brief descriptions of some of the larger migrant communities follow.

Table 1

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSAs) WITH LARGEST SAMOAN POPULATIONS: 1980

SMSA	Number of Samoans	Percent of Samoans in U. S.
Total population in U.S.	41,948*	100.0
Total population in SMSAs	40,273	96.0
Honolulu	13,811	32.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach	8,049	19.2
San Francisco-Oakland	4,239	10.1
San Diego	2,807	6.7
Anaheim-Santa Anna-Garden Grove	2,008	4.8
Seattle-Everett	1,164	2.8
San Jose	1,037	2.5
Salt Lake City-Ogden	597	1.4
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	466	1.1
Tacoma	373	0.9
Oxnard-Simi Valley-Ventura	366	0.9
Kansas City	363	0.9
Salinas-Seaside-Monterey	359	0.9
New York City	213	0.5
Other SMSAs	4,421	10.5

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

*These data are based on all Census returns rather than being extrapolations from sample returns.

Hawaii. During the period 1951-56 an estimated 7,500 persons migrated from American Samoa to Hawaii. By 1972 estimates of Samoans in Hawaii ranged between 10,000 and 18,000 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, May 27, 1972). The 1980 Census reported 14,073 Samoans in Hawaii, with major settlements in the Honolulu area and smaller concentrations of Samoans in other areas of Oahu, including Nanakuli, Waipahu, Aiea, and a sizable Mormon Samoan community in Laie. The Samoans are among the most recent of the many cultural and ethnic groups in Hawaii, and comprise, by 1980 Census estimates, 1.45 percent of the population of the state.

There appears to be a consensus in the published literature that in Hawaii, Samoans are much more visible as an ethnic group than Samoans are in California or Washington (Franco, 1978, 1983; MacPherson, et al., 1978; Kotchek, 1975). In part this is attributed to Hawaii's location midway between Samoa and the mainland, making it a frequent stop-over for migrants. The heightened awareness of Samoans in Hawaii is reflected in numerous state and local reports and in surveys conducted by that state since 1970. (See, e.g., Office of the Governor, 1969, 1974; Born, 1968; Department of Health, Research and Statistics, 1971; Schmitt, 1972; David and King, 1972; Commission on Manpower and Full Employment, 1972; Commission on Manpower and Full Employment, 1975; Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1973; Young, 1973; Duthit and Lung, 1974, 1975; Reid, 1981.)

As is discussed in greater depth in the following chapter, most evidence indicates that Samoans in Hawaii are experiencing severe economic disadvantages compared to the general population of Hawaii. Their disadvantage is proportionately greater in Hawaii than in other Samoan settlements in the United States. Many of the adult migrants in Hawaii have only limited educational or technical training and they experience severe difficulty gaining access to the labor market. The Samoan workforce in Hawaii is primarily employed in service occupations; as operators, fabricators, and laborers; and in sales and clerical occupations. Samoans are underrepresented in managerial, professional, specialty, and technical occupations.

California. In the early 1950s two distinct Samoan labor groups established the initial California settlements: one was a group of farm laborers, imported from Samoa; the other was composed of Samoan Naval personnel transferred from Hawaii. By 1960 California had become a target area for direct migration of individuals from Samoa as well and Samoan civic and church groups had already been formed in San Diego, Oceanside, Long Beach, Oxnard, and San Francisco. Currently, sizable Samoan communities are located at National City, Oceanside, San Diego, North San Diego, and East San Diego within San Diego County; Carson, Compton, Los Angeles, Wilmington, Torrance, and Long Beach within Los Angeles County; Garden Grove and Huntington Beach within Orange County; and San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Jose, San Mateo, and the East Bay cities within the San Francisco area (National Office of Samoan Affairs, 1977:2-3). The 1980 Census reported a total of 20,098 Samoans in California, or 0.184 percent of the state population.

According to Shu and Satele (1977:7) the Samoan community in the South Bay area of Los Angeles, encompassing Carson, Wilmington, Compton, Harbor City and adjacent areas, is the single largest Samoan community in the continental U.S. They point to the location of three Samoan community and cultural centers and several major Samoan churches in Carson as a demonstration of the area's role as focal point of Samoan community life in Southern California.

Aside from employment in the U.S. Navy, Samoans initially migrating to Southern California quickly moved into specialized areas of ship construction and stevedoring (Franco, 1978). Nonetheless, unemployment among the Samoan workforce remains higher than state averages.

Washington. Samoan settlement in the Seattle-Tacoma area began after World War II with the armed services personnel. The initial 10-15 Samoan households located here in the late 1950s rose to at least 126 households by 1970 (Kotchek, 1975). This increase came about through a kin-linked migratory pattern, with Samoans migrating not only directly from Samoa but also from Hawaii and California settlements. The 1980 Census reported 959 Samoans in Seattle, a tiny minority of just 0.19 percent of the city's population, and 1,830 in Washington State, representing 0.13 percent of the state's residents. Employed Samoans are distributed in a wide range of occupations: service workers, laborers, operatives, and clericals are the major occupational groups.

Varying Economic Conditions in Host Communities

Of the three states in which proportionally large numbers of Samoans have settled, Washington has experienced the most economic difficulties in recent years. In January 1984 the overall Washington unemployment rate stood at 12.2 percent, compared to 5.7 percent in Hawaii, 7.5 percent in San Francisco-Oakland, 8.4 percent in Los Angeles-Long Beach and 5.5 percent in Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove.

The various host communities offer Samoans access to different labor markets of substantially different sizes. Table 2 shows the relative sizes of the 1979 labor force in the major urban areas where Samoans reside.

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Table 2

SIZE OF 1979 LABOR FORCE IN AREAS WITH MAJOR SAMOAN POPULATIONS

Area	Total Labor Force
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim SCSA	6,051,014
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose SCSA	2,911,409
San Diego SMSA	1,008,556
Seattle-Tacoma SCSA	1,177,406
Honolulu SMSA	427,197

Source: U.S. Census, 1980.
SMSA = Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
SCSA = Standard Consolidated Statistical Area

Issues Arising from Cultural and Historic Factors

Traditional Samoan social, political, and economic structures, the changed conditions in American Samoa resulting from the U.S. presence, and the circumstances of migration from Samoa to the United States all impact the socioeconomic status of Samoans now residing in the United States. These factors must be weighed in projecting future Samoan migration and community needs during the next decades. A variety of issues arising out of this cultural and historical context have been cited in the literature reviewed for the Study. Although the Study is focused on poverty, employment, and training needs, the literature reviewed by Study staff found a wide variety of topics that merit deeper investigation. Only the most directly related subjects are taken up in this Report, but a more complete list is offered here for interested readers. Issues particularly important for understanding the migrant Samoan communities include:

- Migration context within and among communities. This involves the internal structure of the community's resource-sharing networks and suggests strategies for meeting current and future service needs.
- Job experience and job training of the particular population. This is in part a factor of the socioeconomic context offered by the larger community, but is also partially determined by the history of the Samoan population, e.g., whether it has been based on military employment, and the limited economic development in Samoa which restricts prior work experience of new migrants.

- Job-seeking strategies. Samoan kin and church networks are most frequently utilized for job seeking, thus limiting opportunities to seek employment, especially in occupations which have not been traditionally held by Samoans in a particular community.
- Information dissemination systems. The structure of Samoan communities places traditional leaders, kin, and the church at the center of intra-community information networks. The interface between these foci and service providers has yet to be determined.
- Community social and economic support systems. Samoans prefer to utilize their highly structured, traditional systems of self-help, even where auxiliary services are available. The impact of resource sharing among extended families, the role and authority of the matai, and the continuance of traditional socioceremonial obligations require investigation. The role of the church also merits study. It is the traditional institution which has been transferred most intact to the U.S. context, providing a center for cultural maintenance not impaired by the shift from community-based subsistence agriculture to a cash economy. Further, the church has traditionally been charged with educational responsibilities.
- Family structure. The Samoan 'aiga, extended family, does not conform to the American definitions of the family utilized by service providers; the extent to which it continues as the basic economic unit should be investigated. The construct of chiefly authority over youth in a large kin network has declined in the changed economic conditions in migrant communities, with resultant loss of control over the youth. It will be critical to comprehend this aspect of change, if appropriate youth services are to be provided.

Incorporating Samoan social and cultural needs into the American social and economic framework can constitute an overwhelming problem for the migrant. Some of the issues above have implications for employment and training; these will be addressed in this Study. More detailed discussions of incongruencies between traditional social and economic expectations and American educational, employment, and social structure are found in the following chapter and in the Interim Report submitted to the Department of Labor in December 1983.

III

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the major findings of the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans. The findings are organized in four major topics, representing the areas of focus for the Study.

- o Evaluation of the 1980 U.S. Census count of Samoans residing in the United States.
- o Socioeconomic Status of Samoans in the United States.
- o Service Provision and Utilization.
- o Samoan Youth and the Future.

These findings are the basis for the policy and programmatic recommendations discussed below in Chapters IV and V of this Report.

Material reported in this chapter has been gathered from a number of sources which include: previous studies and research; secondary analyses of data sets about Samoans living in the United States; information collected in on-site interviews and discussions; four scholarly papers commissioned by the Study; and information discussed at the three Community Conferences (See Methodology Section, Chapter I). Although information has been collected from a multiplicity of sources, there is general convergence on the major findings:

- o There is widespread concern among Samoan communities that the 1980 U.S. Census missed a large percentage of the population. Evaluation of Census data suggests that 10-17 percent of the population may not have been enumerated.
- o Socioeconomic indicators show that Samoans are among the most disadvantaged of any ethnic group residing in the United States. They are experiencing extremely high rates of poverty and unemployment.
- o The existing array of services is not adequate to meet the current and anticipated future needs of Samoans in the United States.
- o Samoan youth are experiencing particular difficulties in school and in accessing the labor market. This problem is especially serious because of its long-term implications for the economic and educational status of the community in future years.

The remainder of this chapter expands on these major Study findings, offering supporting documentation. Each section considers both information about all Samoans living in the United States, as well as information specific to the major Samoan migrant communities in California, Hawaii, and Washington.

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Evaluation of the 1980 United States Census Count of Samoans Residing in the United States

Finding 1: There is widespread concern among Samoan communities that the 1980 U.S. Census missed a large percentage of the population. Evaluation of Census data suggests that 10-17 percent of the population may not have been enumerated.

This section of the report addresses the concern expressed by Samoans throughout California, Hawaii, and Washington that the 1980 U.S. Census substantially undercounted the number of Samoans living in the United States. Material presented in this section explores the reasons for concern expressed by local Samoan communities and reports results of an evaluation of the 1980 Census count conducted for the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans.

Sources of Concern

Samoans were enumerated as a separate group by the U.S. Census for the first time in 1980. The 1980 Census enumerated 41,948 Samoans in the United States. Census data showed that Samoans were concentrated primarily in three states: California (20,089), Hawaii (14,073) and Washington (1,803). The remaining 5,956 Samoans were distributed throughout the other 47 states.

Throughout the course of this Study, many Samoan individuals and organizations have maintained that the 1980 U.S. Census missed many Samoans in areas of California, Hawaii, and Washington having large concentrations of Samoans. These feelings were echoed by the members of the Advisory Board for the Study, as well as by many Samoan ministers and matai, and by various Samoan organizations in the United States (for profile of informants, see Appendix A).

For these reasons, the Advisory Board assigned the highest priority to this issue. Board members from the United States unanimously contended that many Samoans in their own communities were missed by the 1980 Census. Consequently, they recommended that one of the four scholarly papers commissioned for the Study evaluate the 1980 U.S. Census count of Samoans to determine if Samoans actually were undercounted. The results of this effort are presented in the section immediately below.

Feelings on this question ran high among residents of Samoan communities in California, Hawaii, and Washington that were visited by the Study staff during the course of the project. While collecting on-site in the four target metropolitan areas information and conducting the three Community Conferences presenting tentative Study findings and recommendations, members of the research team met with many Samoans and with other knowledgeable informants. In every community, numerous ministers and traditional leaders, as well as bilingual service providers and leaders of various Samoan organizations, asserted that the Census count was not accurate in their locale. Frequently cited reasons why Samoans were missed by the U.S. Census included: lack of Samoan participation in planning and outreach for the 1980 Census; lack of understanding in Samoan communities about the purpose of Census; difficulties with the English language and Census wording; perceived invasive questions (e.g., the number of bathrooms in a home); the highly mobile nature of the migrating population.

Other sources of concern about the validity of the U.S. Census count stem from a number of estimates of the Samoan population size published before the 1980 Census. Many of these population estimates are much larger than the corresponding count of Samoans in the area enumerated by the 1980 Census. Some estimates have been based on church membership rosters while others have been based on small sample local surveys or on school records. Scholars as well as Samoan community-based organizations have attempted to estimate the number of Samoans residing in various communities within the United States (e.g., Ablon, 1971; Emery, 1976; Janes, 1984; Kotchek, 1975; Lewthwaite, 1973; National Office of Samoan Affairs, 1977; Rolff, 1978). In a few instances, Samoans appear in larger scale surveys, for example, the Hawaii State Department of Health surveys. In that survey, however, a smaller number of Samoans were counted than in the U.S. Census, but different definitions of Samoans were used.

Since little comparable data existed on Samoans before the 1980 U.S. Census, informal estimates of population size have often been the only available source of data. Often an estimate cited in one study has been referenced in other studies or used in grant applications. In this fashion, a number of unverified estimates have become well known and accepted by local Samoan communities. With the separate enumeration of Samoans by the 1980

Census, for the first time population estimates could be compared with actual counts. Some estimates were four to six times larger than corresponding 1980 Census counts. The ensuing controversy between the Census counts and the prior estimates still has not been resolved.

Evaluation of the 1980 U.S. Census Count

Because these population estimates vary considerably from source to source, a scholarly paper was commissioned by the Study to validate the 1980 U.S. Census with respect to other existing data. Two demographers, Dr. Geoffrey Hayes and Dr. Michael Levin, were commissioned to prepare a paper which they entitled, "How Many Samoans? An Evaluation of the 1980 U.S. Census Count of Samoans in the United States" (Hayes & Levin, 1983(a)). This paper serves as the basis for much of the discussion here.

The commissioned paper undertook three primary tasks: 1) to explore the major sources of demographic information about Samoans; 2) to evaluate the consistency of the Census count with these other demographic data; and 3) to project the probable size of the Samoan population in the United States in the future years.

Their first task in evaluating the Census was to examine other existing demographic data on Samoans, particularly data specifying counts at particular times in particular areas. Hayes and Levin analyzed information from censuses conducted in the four major countries having Samoan populations: American Samoa, Western Samoa, New Zealand, and the United States. Various California, Hawaii, and Washington state and local data sets were also examined. Using established methods of demographic analysis, a range of possible sizes of the Samoan population in the United States was projected. In conducting this process, extrapolations from historical data were made, using a systematic set of assumptions about fertility, mortality, and migration.

Because the term "Samoan" was not used in the United States Census from 1940 to 1970, it is not possible to compare previous U. S. Census counts with the 1980 Census. (In the 1930 Census, only six Samoans were enumerated.) However, using extra-U.S. Census data and vital statistics from a variety of sources, the size of a base population of Samoans in the U.S. was generated for 1951. After a base population was established, certain assumptions of fertility, migration, and mortality used in conjuction with data on Samoans in

American Samoa, Western Samoa, and New Zealand since 1900 could be used to estimate the size of the expected Samoan population in the United States in 1980. Table 3 presents the range of estimates for the 1951 "baseline" Samoan population in the United States.

Table 3

ESTIMATES OF THE TOTAL SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1951

Assumption	Estimated Population
Low	1,200
Medium	1,634 to 2,249
High	3,039

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

Their analysis assumed that the Samoan population in the United States in September 1951 could reasonably have ranged in size from 1,200 to 3,039.

Using these different baseline estimates, extrapolations were made of the size of the Samoan population in the United States after 1951. Each extrapolation made certain assumptions about net migration (in-migration minus out-migration), fertility and mortality rates. To estimate the size of the United States Samoan population after 1951, net migration and births were added to the 1951 baseline population, and the number of deaths was subtracted. Since birth and death statistics on Samoans were unavailable for the United States as a whole, vital statistics from American Samoa as well as estimates of Samoan fertility from the 1980 U.S. Census and other studies were used in these projections. Varying assumptions about net migration—based on information from local studies—were also made. Population estimates derived by these methods are presented in Table 4.

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Table 4

ESTIMATES OF THE SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1951-1980, IN FIVE-YEAR INCREMENTS

	Estimated Population, Using Different 1951 Bases				Annual Population Growth Assumptions			
Year	I	II	III	IV	Net Migration	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase*
1951	1,200	1,634	2,249	3,039	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1955	3,129	3,628	4,334	5,241	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1960	9,189	9,783	10,623	11,528	1,161	.0436	.0065	.0371
1965	14,793	15,470	16,470	17,548	574	.037	.005	.0320
1970	21,584	22,406	23,573	24,827	877	.035	.005	.030
1975	33,465	34,417	35,768	37,221	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1980	46,573	47,652	49,186	50,834	—	—	—	—

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).
*Natural Increase = birth rate minus death rate

The equations utilized by Hayes and Levin resulted in projections for a U.S. Samoan population for 1980 ranging in size from 46,573 to 50,834, depending on which population base for 1951 is chosen. The figures on the right of Table 4 represent assumptions made about net migration and natural population increase for each particular five-year period.

These projections of the size of Samoan population in the United States in 1980 can be compared with the 1980 Census count. The four population estimates from Table 4 are compared with the 1980 U.S. Census enumeration of Samoans in Table 5.

Table 5

COMPARISON OF ESTIMATED SAMOAN POPULATION AND SAMOANS COUNTED IN THE 1980 UNITED STATES CENSUS

	Estimated Populations, Using Different 1951 Bases			
	I	II	III	IV
Expected population, April 1, 1980	46,573	47,652	49,186	50,834
Enumerated population, April 1, 1980	41,948	41,948	41,948	41,948
Difference between expected and enumerated	4,625	5,704	7,238	8,886
Percent of expected population	9.90%	12.00%	14.92%	17.52%
Implied growth rate (average annual percent)	12.97%	11.90%	10.83%	9.85%

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

Differences in the estimated and enumerated populations range from 4,625 to 8,886, a 9.9 to 17.5 percent difference from the 1980 Census count of Samoans. Hayes and Levin note that ". . . even the lowest of the 1980 estimates are based on strong assumptions about immigration." (Hayes & Levin, 1983(a):14). If more refined net migration figures were available, the apparent differences between the 1980 Census count and population estimates might decrease.

A 10 to 12 percent undercount may be the most reasonable conclusion, since an undercount of 10 percent is close to findings in the 1980 Census on place of birth for Samoans (Hayes, Memorandum on Additional Projections, 1983). However, the demographers conclude there is no evidence which supports contentions that as many as 90,000 to 100,000 Samoans resided in the United States in 1980 or earlier. To have achieved population levels of such magnitude, assuming net migration estimates are valid, Hayes determined that Samoans would have had to sustain a birth rate of 77 per 1,000. He further indicates that this high a birth rate has never been observed in a human population. To achieve a rate of 77 per 1,000 over time, Samoan women would have had to bear an average of 11 children throughout the 1951 to 1980 period. The highest rate ever observed for Samoans was 6.8 in 1960 (Park, 1979:15).

After a range of sizes for the United States Samoan population have been estimated in this way, population projections for various points in the future can be similarly derived. Based on a range of demographic assumptions, Hayes and Levin estimated a range of likely sizes for the Samoan population in the United States for 1985, 1990 and 2000. Table 6 summarizes these projections.

Table 6

PROJECTED SAMOAN POPULATION FOR THE UNITED STATES FOR VARIOUS YEARS

Year	Projection I	Projection II	Projection III	Projection IV	Projection V
1985	53,500	65,000	64,000	64,000	65,000
1990	62,000	92,000	86,500	84,000	89,000
2000	84,000	182,000	148,500	131,000	159,000

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

The 1985 Samoan population in the United States should range from 53,500 to 65,000. If Projection IV is taken as most realistic, Samoans in the United States will number 131,000 by the year 2000, more than twice the projected 1985 population of 64,000. Refer to Appendix B for a more detailed breakdown of the various projections by state and a description of the assumptions underlying each projection.

Hayes and Levin's conclusions have been reviewed by other experts familiar with Samoan population issues. Reviews, including one mandated by the Advisory Board, concurred with both the methodologies utilized and the conclusions drawn by the authors (Robert Schmitt, correspondence with this study, 1983).

The 10 to 17 percent potential undercount of Samoans in the 1980 Census identified by Hayes and Levin is a substantial one. Although no evidence was found to support assertions of 1980 populations much larger than 50,000, there is lingering concern among Samoan communities that the actual count may nevertheless be much higher. For this reason, the Advisory Board requested that an independent pilot validation of the 1980 Census count in specific enumeration districts be conducted as part of the Study. A requested modification to the original scope of work for the Study to conduct this validation was not granted.

Even though there is lingering concern among Samoans about the 1980 Census count, Census data nevertheless provide the most comprehensive information available about Samoans residing in the United States. The Census data permit comparisons among the various Samoan communities within the United States as well as comparisons between Samoans and other United States populations. Although the Study's Advisory Board and participants in the three Community Conferences continued to question the total count of the Samoan population in the 1980 Census, they concurred that the socioeconomic information in the Census can and should be used to indicate the needs of Samoans living in the United States. There was further agreement that the Census data accurately reflect social and economic conditions as they are perceived within the Samoan communities and by service providers working with Samoans.

Selected Demographic Characteristics

Analysis of the 1980 Census data reveals several population factors that have significant implications for the present and future socioeconomic status of Samoans residing in the United States:

- Age composition of the Samoan population
- High fertility rates of Samoan women
- Relative size of Samoan families.

Age Composition. Samoans are among the youngest of United States residents.* Table 7 displays this information. The median age of Samoans in 1980 was only 19.5 years, compared to 30.0 years for the overall population.

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* The 1980 U.S. Census used the term "Samoan" as a racial category. The 1980 Census data does not differentiate between American Samoans and Western Samoans. Therefore data derived from the 1980 Census will be presented using this same designation.

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Table 7

MEDIAN AGE OF THE SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

	United States		California		Hawaii		Washington		Other States	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Median Age:	30.0	19.5	30.0	19.4	28.4	17.5	29.8	19.0	*	22.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981; Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).
*Not Available

The 1980 Census indicates that Samoans have the youngest median age of any population group enumerated in the Census. Table 8 illustrates this point.

Table 8

MEDIAN AGE OF SELECTED GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980

Racial Group	Median Age
Total	30.0
White	30.9
Black	24.9
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut	23.1
Asian and Pacific Islander	28.4
Japanese	33.5
Filipino	28.5
Korean	26.0
Asian Indian	30.1
Vietnamese	21.5
Hawaiian	24.2
Guamanian	22.6
Samoan	19.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

In both California and Washington the median age paralleled the national pattern. The median age of Samoans in Hawaii was only 17.5 years, 2 years lower than the median age for all Samoans residing in the United States. The lower median age in Hawaii is thought to result from a combination of migration and fertility patterns among Samoans in Hawaii (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b):4).

The median age of Samoans ranges from 2 to 14 years less than that of other selected groups. Notably, the median age of Samoans is 9.2 years lower than the median age for the Asian and Pacific Islander group.

The age distribution of Samoans presented in Table 9 demonstrates that a higher proportion of Samoans are clustered in the younger age cohorts than is the case for the United States population as a whole.

Table 9

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMOAN POPULATION AND THE UNITED STATES POPULATION BY AGE GROUP: 1980

Age Group	United States	Samoans
Under 5 years	7.2	13.8
5 - 9	7.4	12.7
10 - 14	8.0	12.7
15 - 19	9.4	12.0
20 - 24	9.4	10.8
25 - 29	8.6	9.3
30 - 34	7.9	7.6
35 - 39	6.1	5.6
40 - 44	5.1	4.2
45 - 49	4.9	3.1
50 - 54	5.2	2.7
55 - 59	5.1	1.8
60 - 64	4.5	1.5
65 - 69	3.9	0.9
70 - 74	3.0	0.5
75+	4.4	0.7

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

In 1980 about 39 percent of all Samoans residing in the United States were under 15 years of age, compared to only 22.6 percent for the United States as a whole. Only 2.1 percent of Samoans were aged 65 and older, compared 11.3 percent of total population.

The population pyramid shown in Figure 1 for Samoans and the overall U.S. population graphically demonstrate these differences. The relative youth of Samoans is depicted by the "bottom heavy" shape of the Samoan age distribution, whereas the shape of the distribution for the total United States population clearly reflects more clustering in the older age cohorts.

Fertility. High fertility rates are another important characteristic of the United States Samoan population. Table 10 summarizes the pertinent 1980 Census data on the fertility of Samoan women in the United States. Compared with other ethnic groups, Samoan women have among the highest birth rates in the United States. Among women aged 15 to 24, Samoans had the fifth highest birth rate. Only Blacks, American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts had higher birth rates. Birth rates for Samoan women were highest in both the 25 to 34 and 35 to 44 age cohorts. Compared with all women in the United States aged 25 to 34 and 35 to 44, birth rates for Samoan women were about 62 percent higher.

Table 10

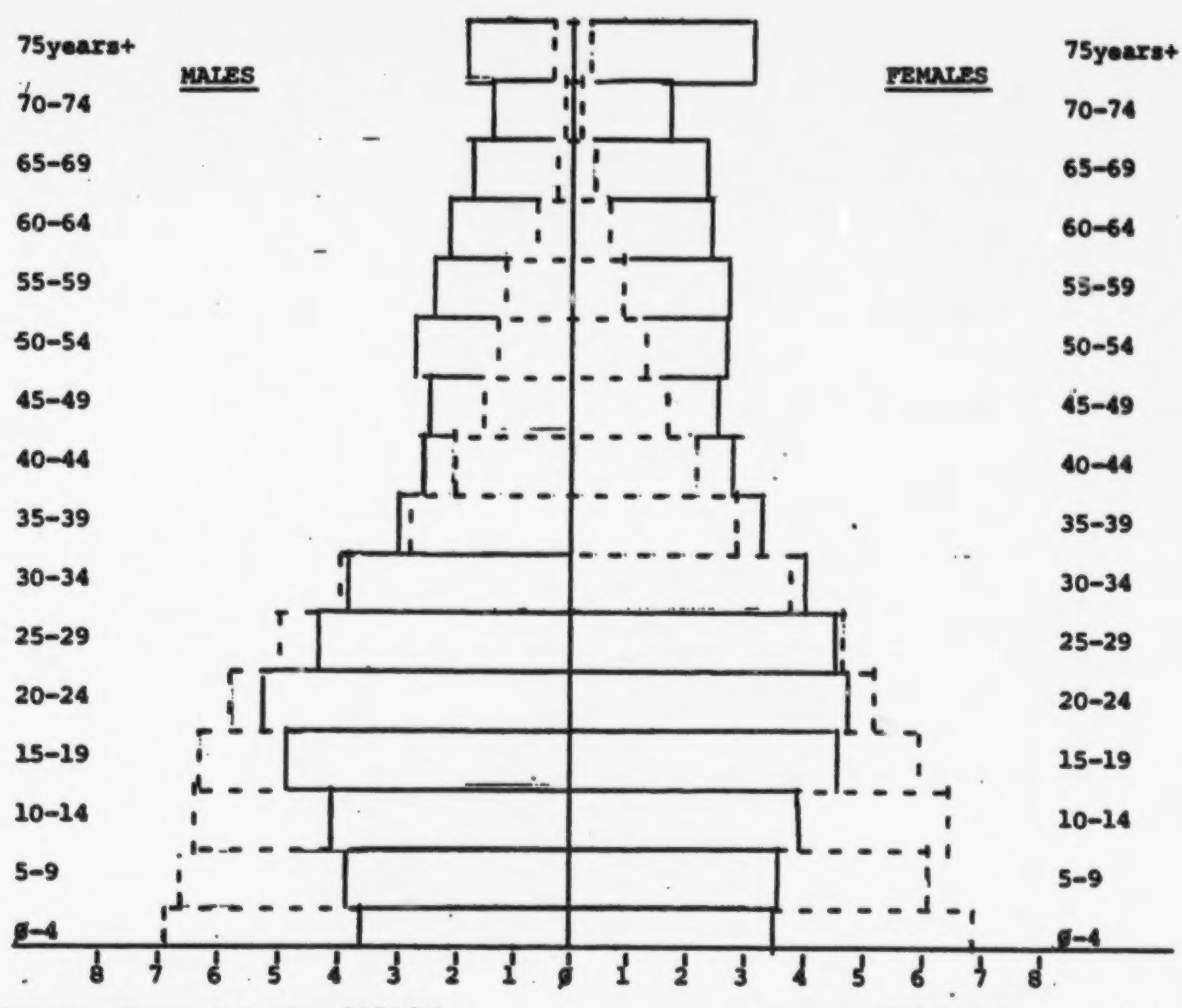
CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 IN THE UNITED STATES
BY RACE AND AGE GROUP OF WOMEN: 1980

Racial Group	15-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years
Total Population	317	1,476	2,639
White	269	1,404	2,544
Black	540	1,859	3,185
American Indian	530	2,012	3,450
Eskimo	505	2,199	4,152
Aleut	471	1,763	3,169
Asian and Pacific Islander			
Japanese	106	908	1,872
Chinese	82	939	2,233
Filipino	278	1,270	2,216
Korean	229	1,244	2,045
Asian Indian	236	1,336	2,197
Vietnamese	305	1,775	3,391
Hawaiian	431	1,880	3,325
Guamanian	408	1,885	3,700
Samoan	453	2,400	4,276

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Figure 1

POPULATION PYRAMID FOR TOTAL U.S. AND FOR SAMOANS IN THE U.S.: 1980



Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

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Family Characteristics. Due to their relative youth and high birth rates, Samoan families are larger and more apt to contain young children. Table 11 indicates that almost half (48.5%) of all Samoan families in the United States contain children under 6 years of age, a rate 2.9 times that of the nation as a whole. The incidence of Samoan families with children under 18 is about 58 percent higher than the general population.

Table 11

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS FOR SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980

Characteristic	United States	Samoans
Percent:		
With Children Under 6	12.4	48.5
With Children Under 18	51.1	80.6

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Samoan families are also larger than the average family in United States, as Table 12 demonstrates. The average Samoan family in 1980 contained 4.77 persons, compared with the national average of 2.75 persons. In California and Hawaii, Samoan families were about 50 percent larger than the average family in the United States. Although smaller than in California and Hawaii, Samoan families in Washington were still one-third larger than the national norm.

In summary, 1980 Census population data depict a young Samoan population, experiencing high birth rates, and having large families containing a high incidence of young children. As will be seen below, these demographic characteristics in turn affect the social and economic status of Samoans residing in the United States.

Table 12

PERSONS PER FAMILY FOR SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

	United States		Samoans		
	Total	Samoans	California	Hawaii	Washington
Persons Per Family	2.75	4.77	5.01	5.14	4.44

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Finding 2: According to many socioeconomic indicators Samoans living in the United States are experiencing severe problems. They have higher rates of poverty and lower per capita incomes than other population groups.

This segment of the Report describes the social and economic status of Samoans residing in the United States. Findings from various sources depict serious problems encountered by Samoans migrating to the United States. A number of data sources have been utilized, and these data tend to reinforce each other. Sources of data used include: the 1980 U. S. Census, state and local records, local studies and surveys, the scholarly papers commissioned by the Study, and special crosstabulations of Samoan data prepared by the Bureau of the Census for this Study. The commissioned scholarly paper on the socioeconomic characteristics of Samoans in the United States is of particular importance. (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b)). This paper incorporates 1980 Census findings with material from other data bases.

A number of social and economic indicators will be used to describe the problems encountered by Samoans who leave the islands. For the purpose of this Report, findings based on these indicators are grouped into four categories:

- Economic Profile.
- Education Profile.
- English Language Proficiency Profile.
- Employment Profile.

Findings in each profile are presented first for all Samoans in the United States, and then for individual states, when appropriate. Differences among Samoan populations within the States of California, Hawaii, and Washington will be highlighted because systematic differences were found.

All of these factors should be understood in a dynamic, not a static context. The Samoan population is highly mobile, migrating from the home islands to Hawaii and the mainland and back again. Attendance in school and participation in programs, even the size of the population itself, fluctuate. Reaching population for any longer-term intervention is thus particularly challenging.

Economic Profile

Poverty. A number of indicators comparing the economic status of Samoans to the general United States population show that Samoans in the United States are not faring as well economically as other populations. For example, Table 13 reveals that a higher proportion of Samoans is considered to be living in poverty than for the United States population as a whole. Poverty level is an index based on percentage of income required for basic food expenditures and reflects the different consumption requirements of families based on their size and composition. The index is updated annually to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. For example, in 1979 a family of four with an income of less than $7,412 was considered as living in poverty.

Table 13

PERCENT OF SAMOANS LIVING IN POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1979:1980

	Total U.S. Population	Samoans
Percentage Below Poverty Level:		
Families	9.6	27.5
Unrelated Individuals	25.1	39.9
Persons	12.4	29.5

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

These data show that 27.5 percent of all Samoan families in the United States had incomes below the official poverty level, compared to only 9.6% of the overall United States population. The proportion of Samoans living in poverty is 1.9 times higher than for all families in the United States.

Using "persons" as the unit of analysis, a disproportionate number of Samoans also live in "extreme poverty" (below 75% of the poverty line) and "near-poverty" (between 150% and 200% of the poverty line). (See Table 14) The incidence of extreme poverty for Samoans is 1.4 times higher than for the country as a whole, while the incidence of persons in near-poverty is twice the rate for the overall United States population.

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Table 14

PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES, SAMOANS AND TOTAL POPULATION, 1979:1980

	Total U.S. Population	Samoan Population
Percent of Persons:		
Below 75 percent of poverty	8.3	19.6
Below poverty level	12.4	29.5
Below 150 percent of poverty	21.7	46.9
Below 200 percent of poverty	31.7	62.5

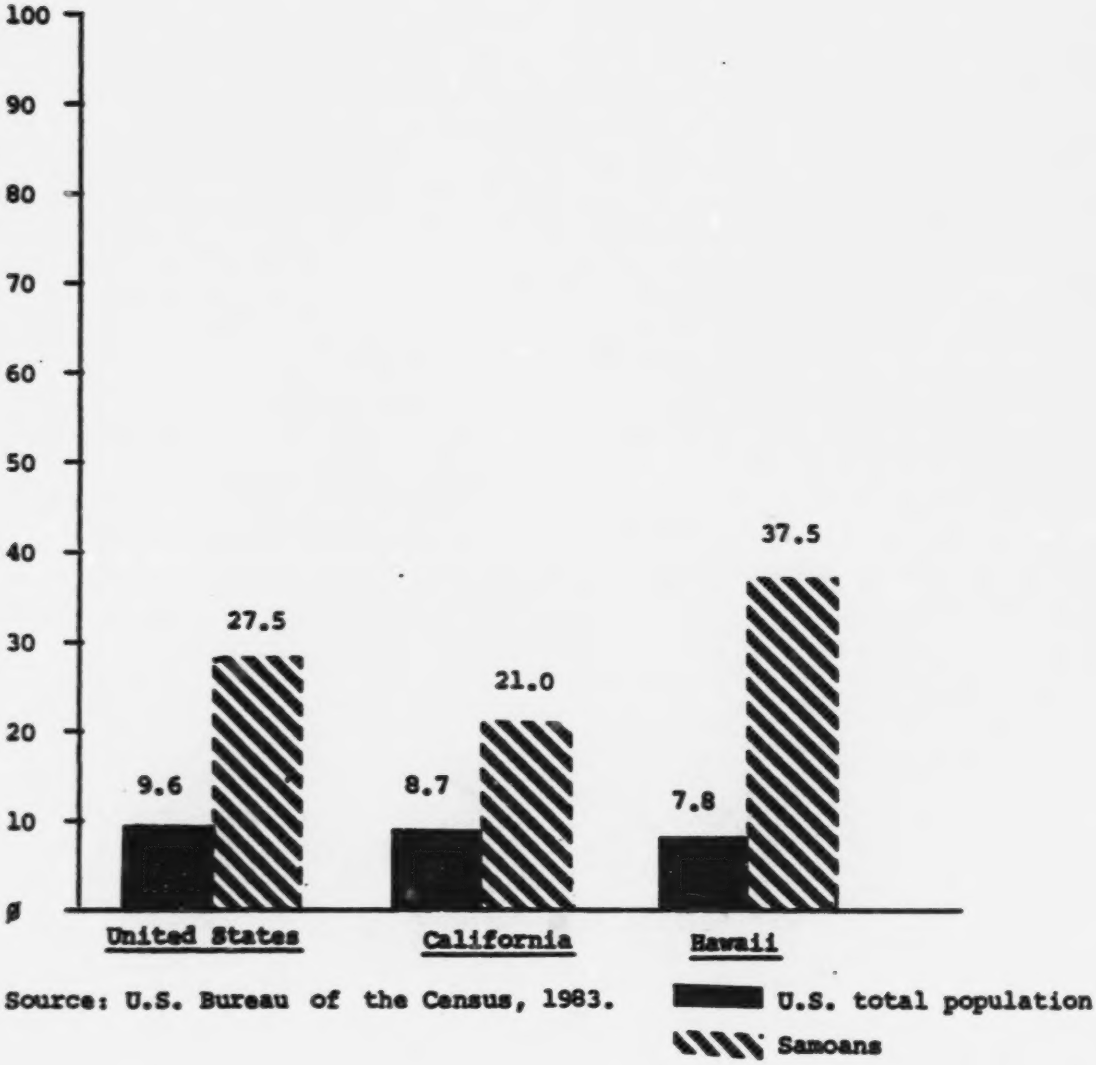
Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

When the poverty rates for Samoans are compared by state, even greater discrepancies emerge. (See Figure 2) In California 21.0 percent of Samoan families are below the poverty level, compared with 8.7 of all California families; 37.5 percent of Samoan families in Hawaii are below the poverty level, compared with 7.8 percent of all families. The incidence of Samoans in severe poverty (below 75% of poverty level) and near poverty (150% to 200% of poverty level) is also highest in Hawaii.

As shown in Table 15, the proportion of Samoans in California found in the four poverty levels is approximately 1.8 times higher than for the state's population as a whole. In Washington and Hawaii the discrepancies between Samoans and the general population of the state are even greater. The incidence of Samoans experiencing severe poverty is over three that for the overall population in Washington and over 4-1/2 times higher in Hawaii.

Figure 2

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN FAMILIES WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, IN THE U.S. AND SELECTED STATES; 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

Also, the incidence of Samoans in Washington and Hawaii living in near-poverty is higher than that of general population of the respective states. In Washington over twice the percentage of Samoans have incomes below 200 percent of the poverty level than that for the state's population as a whole. In Hawaii, over 2-1/2 times the percentage of Samoans are living in near-poverty than that of the state's population as a whole. The relative youth of Samoans in the United States has a profound effect on the incidence of poverty among Samoans. As the previous section of this chapter recounted, Samoans are among the youngest of all ethnic groups living in the United States. Given the high birth rates in Samoan families, large numbers of young dependents must be supported by working-age Samoans. These implications of this will be discussed in greater detail in the final section of this chapter.

Table 15

SUMMARY POVERTY MEASURES OF SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1979:1980

Summary Poverty Measures	United States		California		Hawaii		Washington	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Percent of Persons:								
Below 75% of Poverty Level:	8.3	19.6	7.5	13.8	6.1	27.8	6.2	19.7
Below Poverty Level:	12.4	29.5	11.4	21.4	9.9	40.2	13.7	30.9
Below 150% of Poverty Level:	21.7	46.9	20.7	36.1	19.0	62.5	17.6	44.3
Below 200% of Poverty Level:	31.7	62.5	30.0	53.9	29.0	75.7	26.4	58.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983 and Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Household Income. The high incidence of Samoans living in poverty is due in part to the household income of Samoans. Table 16 depicts household incomes (reported for 1979) for all Samoans in the United States, and for Samoans in California and Hawaii, the states with the largest numbers of Samoans.

Table 16

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Household	United States		California		Hawaii	
Income	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Total households Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than $5,000	13.3	14.5	11.5	12.1	8.3	17.1
$5,000 to $7,499	8.0	9.1	7.2	6.7	6.4	12.2
$7,500 to $9,999	7.9	11.4	7.6	8.0	7.2	17.1
$10,000 to $14,999	15.3	18.6	14.8	16.4	14.1	20.1
$15,000 to $19,999	14.1	14.6	13.3	18.0	12.8	8.8
$20,000 to $24,999	12.4	10.2	12.1	12.0	11.8	7.7
$25,000 to $34,999	15.7	13.7	16.5	16.3	17.8	11.8
$35,000 to $49,999	8.6	6.1	10.7	8.2	13.5	4.2
$50,000 or more	4.6	1.7	6.4	2.2	8.0	0.9
Median (dollars)	$16,841	$13,848	$18,243	$16,616	$20,473	$10,742

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

The median household income of Samoans in the United States is $13,848, 82.2 percent of the median income for all households in the nation. Samoan household income levels varied among the states. The median household income for California Samoans was 55 percent higher than for Samoans in Hawaii and 13 percent higher than for Samoan households in Washington.

Annual household incomes were lower for families where women are the householders and husbands are not present. The median income for those households was $7,059, compared with $13,848 for all Samoan households. Household incomes having female householders with no husband present were even lower if children were present. The median income for these households with children under 6 years of age was only $5,231. (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b):11).

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Single parent families headed by women are most prevalent in Hawaii, comprising 24.3 percent of all Samoan families in Hawaii. The incidence of these families among Samoans is 38% higher in Hawaii than in the United States as a whole. The section below on service utilization presents more information on the utilization of public assistance by Samoans in the United States and its effect on family income.

Household Size. The size of Samoan households and families is another factor affecting the incidence of poverty among Samoans. As shown in Table 17, for example, the average size of Samoan households in the United States is 5.17 persons, whereas the overall United States average is 3.27 persons. The larger size of Samoan households places even greater strain on their incomes that are already below those of the general population.

Table 17

HOUSEHOLD SIZE FOR SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES
AND FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

	Total U.S. Population	Samoans			
		Total	California	Hawaii	Washington
Household Size	3.27	5.17	5.36	5.37	4.96

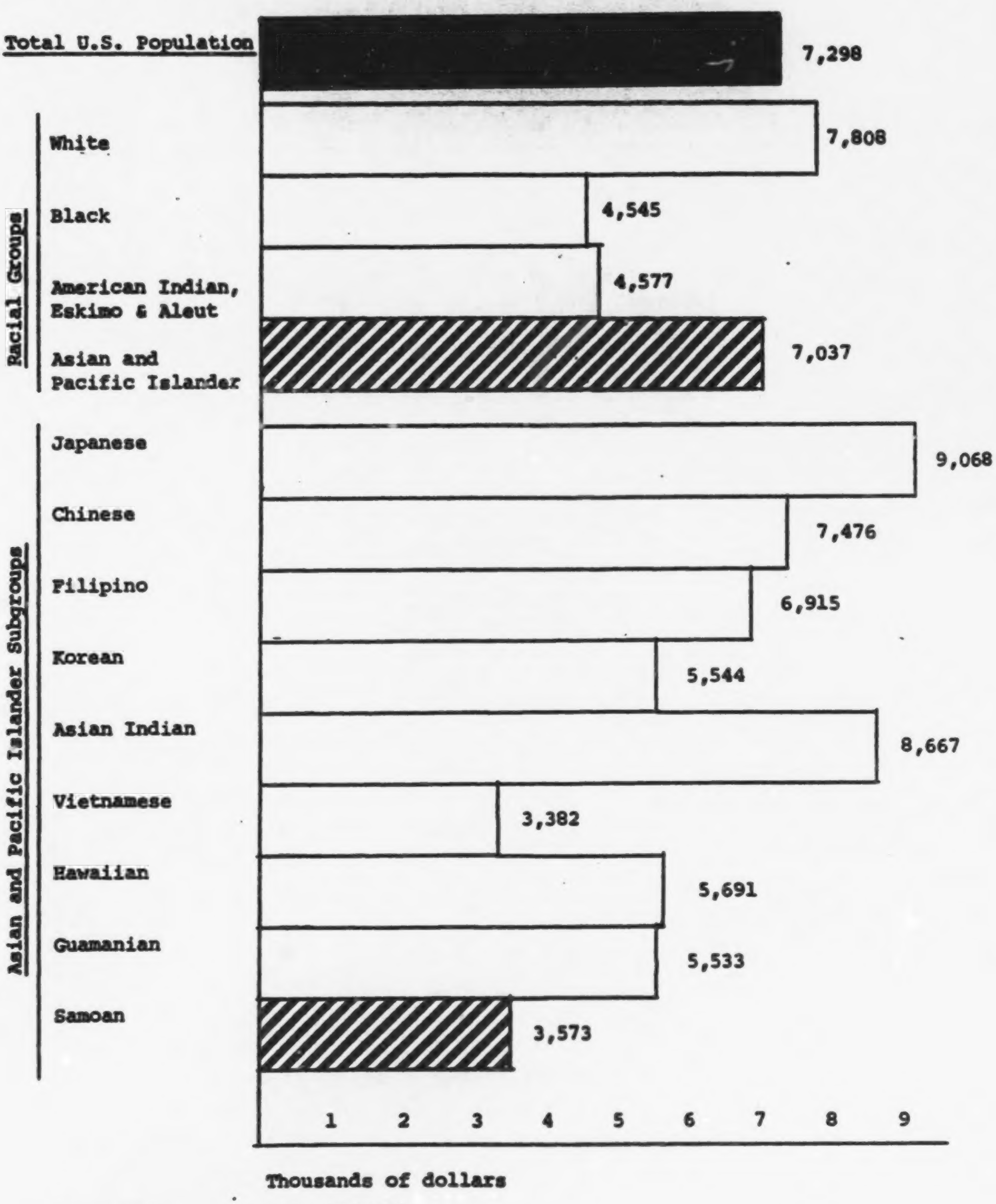
Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Per Capita Income. Since Samoan households tend to be larger than the national average and Samoan household incomes tend to be lower, it follows that the per capita income of Samoans also will be much lower than that of the general population. When per capita income figures for Samoans are compared to those for other groups, the contrasts are striking, as shown in Figure 3.

The per capita income for Samoans residing in the United States is $3,573, (see Table 18) only 49 percent of the United States average. Samoans have the second lowest per capita income of all population groups. Only Vietnamese have slightly lower per capita incomes. In California and Washington, per capita income of Samoans was about half the state average. In Hawaii the Samoan per capita income was only 35% of the state average and the lowest for any group in the state.

Figure 3

AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME OF SAMOANS AND SELECTED GROUPS: 1980



Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Table 18

PER CAPITA INCOME OF SELECTED GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN SELECTED STATES, 1979:1980

Selected Group	United States	California	Hawaii	Washington
Total (in dollars)	7,298	8,295	7,740	8,073
White	7,808	9,109	8,762	8,304
Black	4,545	5,710	5,437	5,867
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut	4,577	6,030	6,244	5,006
Asian and Pacific Islander	7,037	7,243	7,351	6,233
Japanese	9,068	9,567	9,475	8,715
Chinese	7,476	7,946	9,422	7,202
Filipino	6,915	6,625	5,375	6,045
Korean	5,544	6,010	6,520	4,460
Asian Indian	8,667	8,159	10,165	7,245
Vietnamese	3,382	3,315	2,813	3,115
Hawaiian	5,691	7,169	5,328	5,845
Guamanian	5,533	5,747	4,249	6,286
Samoan	3,573	4,081	2,729	3,890

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1983 and Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Education Profile

Research has repeatedly shown that education and occupations are strongly correlated and that occupation, in turn, is linked to income. In general, those in the population with more education have greater incomes. Education often functions as a gatekeeper, screening out individuals from certain occupations who do not meet prescribed educational levels. Comparison of the educational attainment of Samoans and of the general population may therefore reflect the relative ability of Samoans to compete with others in the labor force.

Lack of education is regularly cited as a major barrier faced by Samoans to obtaining employment and economic self-sufficiency in the United States. This perspective was articulated repeatedly in conversations with Samoan community members and with service providers during this study's on-site information collection activities in Honolulu, the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, the San Francisco Bay area, and Seattle-Tacoma. (For profile of information, see Appendix A.) Desire for education, along with employment, is one of the reasons most frequently cited by Samoans for migrating to the United States (Lewthwaite, 1973:135; Shu, 1980:68; Rolff, 1978:58).

The depth of the educational problem can be comprehended only through a thorough examination of the 1980 U.S. Census information. Table 19 compares the proportion of Samoan high school and college graduates to the overall United States population.

Among adults 25 and older, differences in the proportion of high school graduates among Samoans and the United States population as a whole are very small: 65.7 percent and 66.5 percent respectively. (See Figure 4.) The differences are greater in the states with the large numbers of Samoan residents. The proportion of Samoan high school graduates ranges from a high of 63.5 percent in California to a low of 51.0 percent in Hawaii. High school completion rates for Samoans in California are about 16 percent lower than the state-side average, while in Hawaii the rate is 21 percent lower.

Table 19

PERCENT OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES FOR SAMOANS AGED 25 AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

	United States		California		Hawaii		Washington	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Percent High School Graduates	66.5	65.7	73.5	63.5	73.8	51.0	77.6	63.1
Percent College Graduates	16.2	7.3	19.6	6.6	20.3	3.3	19.0	9.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

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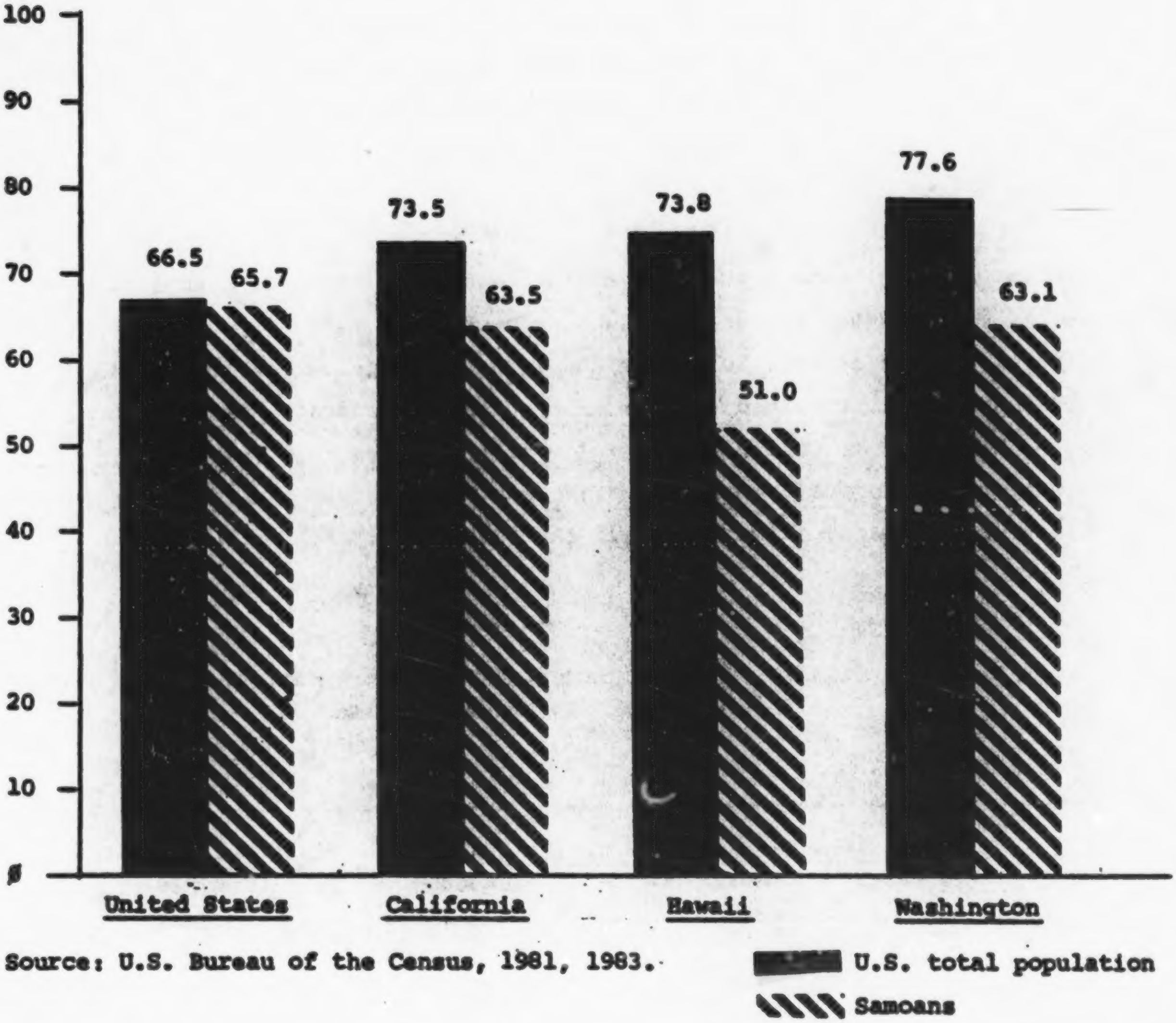
Figure 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AGED 25 AND OVER, IN THE U.S. AND SELECTED STATES: 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981, 1983.

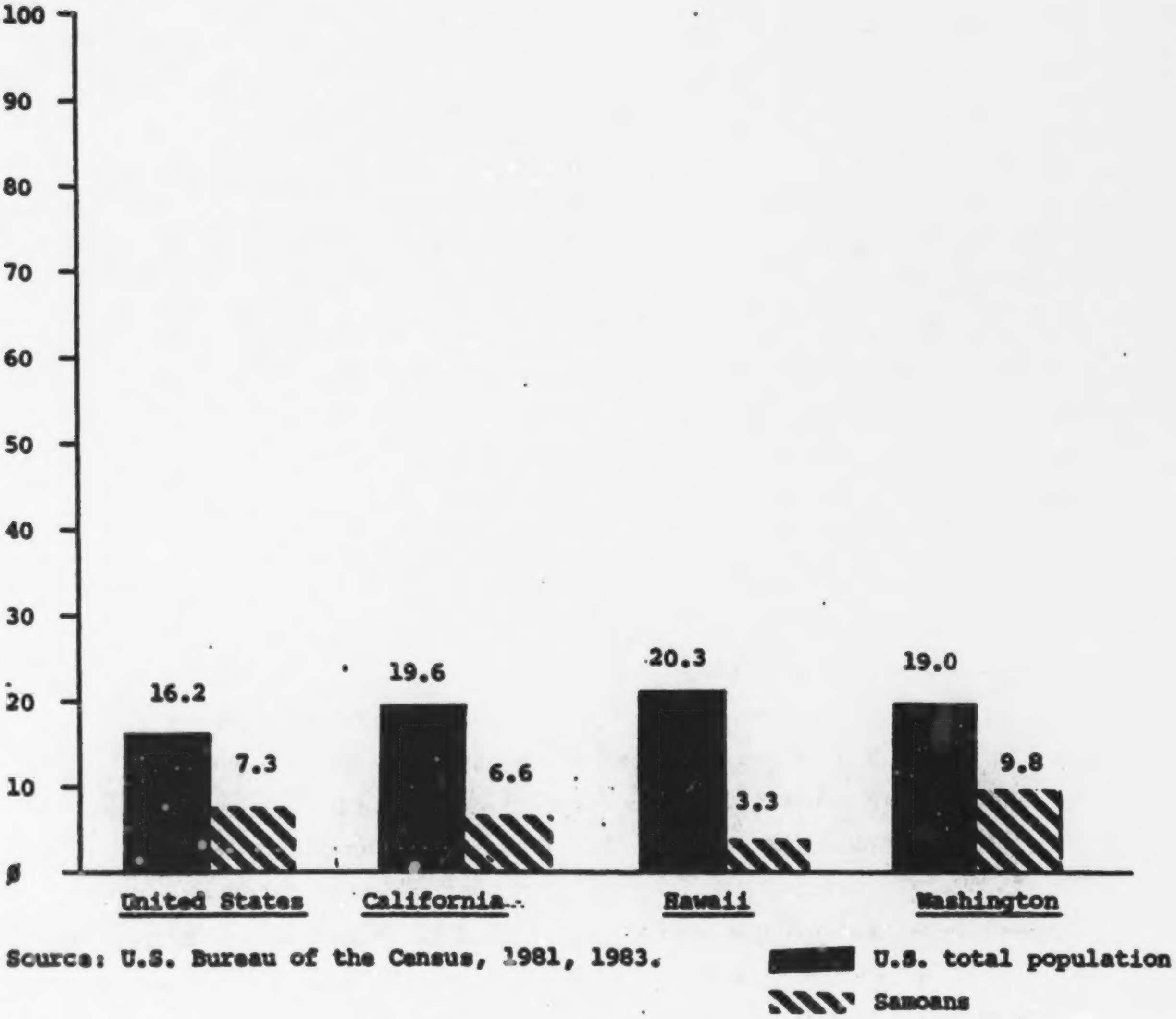
Further, these data on high school graduation may be somewhat misleading. These Census figures undoubtedly contain a number of Samoans who graduated from high schools in Samoa. During the course of the Study, numerous informants noted the differences between the educational systems in Samoa and the United States. Individuals receiving their education in Samoan schools appear not to be as well prepared to compete in the labor market as graduates of high schools in the United States. For example, English language competencies of Samoans educated in Samoa are reported to inhibit their ability to compete effectively in U.S. labor markets. These contentions were reinforced by both Samoan and non-Samoan educators in the Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle areas.

As Figure 5 demonstrates, even more striking differences in educational attainment appear in comparisons of the proportion of college graduates among Samoans and the general United States populations. The proportion of college graduates in the general population is over 2.2 times higher than that for Samoans living in the United States, 16.2 percent compared with 7.3 percent for Samoans. Samoans in the State of Washington have the highest proportion of college graduates, although in numerical terms, smaller than both California and Hawaii. College completion rates for Samoans ranged from a high of 9.8 percent in Washington to a low of 3.3 percent in Hawaii. These findings indicate that proportionately fewer Samoans complete college than does the United States population as a whole. This limits employment opportunities for Samoans, since college graduation is a prerequisite for entry into many higher paying technical, managerial and professional occupations.

Other important facts emerge when the data on education are further broken down by the sex of the graduate. Table 20 displays these findings. In all states, proportionately fewer Samoan men and women graduate from high school and college than in the general population. About 66 percent of Samoan men graduate from high school as opposed to 57 percent of Samoan women. Also the proportion of Samoan men and women with four or more years of college is lower than that of their respective counterparts in the general United States population. Since school systems are not comparable, readers should exercise caution in interpreting Samoan high school completion data. For example, although proportionately fewer Samoans graduated from high school, a greater proportion of Samoans attended high school for four years, but apparently did not graduate. The extent to which these data reflect high school attendance in Samoa cannot be determined.

Figure 5

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOANS AGED 25 AND OVER WITH FOUR OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE, IN THE U.S. AND SELECTED STATES: 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981, 1983.

Table 20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING FOR SAMOAN MEN AND WOMEN AGED 25 YEARS AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Characteristic		United States		California		Hawaii	
		Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED							
Males		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary:	0-4 years	3.9	4.7	4.0	4.4	5.2	5.2
	5-7 years	6.8	5.7	5.3	4.8	5.5	8.8
	8 years	7.8	4.6	4.6	3.1	4.4	7.8
High School:	1-3 years	14.2	19.4	11.4	22.1	9.7	19.8
	4 years	31.1	39.0	27.3	39.3	33.6	38.5
College:	1-3 years	16.1	17.1	23.0	17.6	18.5	15.3
	4+ years	20.1	9.8	24.3	8.6	23.0	4.5
High School Graduates		67.3	65.7	74.7	65.5	75.2	58.4
Females		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Elementary:	0-4 years	3.3	7.3	3.9	4.8	5.4	11.0
	5-7 years	6.5	7.7	5.3	7.0	6.5	10.1
	8 years	8.2	6.2	5.2	5.5	5.4	8.0
High School:	1-3 years	16.2	22.3	13.2	21.4	10.3	26.6
	4 years	37.7	37.7	35.2	40.6	36.5	34.1
College:	1-3 years	15.3	14.1	21.9	16.3	18.3	7.9
	4+ years	12.8	4.8	15.2	4.3	17.7	2.3
High School Graduates		65.8	56.6	72.4	61.2	72.5	44.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

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College graduation rates for Samoans in the United States present a clearer picture. Proportionately fewer Samoan women attend four or more years of college than men do. While 9.8 percent of Samoan males in the United States have attended four or more years of college, only 4.8 percent of Samoan females have done so.

Educational institutions generally categorize Samoans under the more general classification of Asian and Pacific Islander. This masks the data on Samoans, since Samoans account for only 1.2 percent of all Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States. Consequently, little information exists about the academic performance of Samoans. Because few institutions keep data specifically on Samoans, it is important to compare any data available on the educational attainment of Samoans in contrast to other Asian and Pacific Islanders.

Fortunately, the 1980 U.S. Census includes high school graduation rates for Samoans and other Asian and Pacific Islanders. The figures in Table 21 graphically portray the educational gap that exists between Samoans and other Pacific Island populations. Among all Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States, Samoan males have the lowest proportions of high school graduates (65.7%). Samoan females have the second lowest rate, after Vietnamese women. California trends for Samoan men and women mirror the national figures. In Hawaii, only Filipino males experience lower high school completion rates; the rate for Samoan women (44.3%) is the lowest of any Asian and Pacific Island group.

In summary, Samoans have not achieved educational attainment levels comparable with the United States population as a whole. Furthermore, the educational attainment of Samoan women is substantially lower than for Samoan men. Compared with other Asian and Pacific Islanders, Samoans have among the lowest high school graduation rates.

Table 21

PROPORTIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER POPULATIONS 25 YEARS AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES, BY SEX: 1980

Asian and Pacific Islander Group	Males			Females		
	United States Total	Cali-fornia	Hawaii	United States Total	Cali-fornia	Hawaii
Japanese	84.2	88.2	75.4	79.5	83.8	70.0
Chinese	75.2	76.8	78.2	67.4	67.2	72.8
Filipino	73.1	74.6	48.0	75.1	75.6	55.1
Korean	90.0	90.0	81.7	70.6	75.0	66.5
Asian Indian	88.8	84.7	80.1	71.5	68.4	72.7
Vietnamese	71.3	73.6	63.1	53.6	55.7	48.0
Hawaiian	70.0	76.2	67.8	67.0	75.4	68.5
Guamanian	71.2	72.0	82.1	64.7	64.5	54.1
Samoan	65.7	65.5	58.4	56.6	61.2	44.3
Asian/Pacific n.e.c.*	73.7	74.0	69.1	55.9	60.0	57.7

*Not elsewhere classified
Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

English Language Proficiency Profile

During on-site Study research, almost every informant cited problems associated with low English language proficiency and educational attainment as two of the major factors affecting the ability of Samoans to obtain employment and utilize existing training resources. But, as with educational attainment, English language proficiency data from the 1980 U.S. Census do not, at face value, indicate English language proficiency problems of the magnitude that local Samoans described. Again however, close analysis of the data brings the seriousness of the issue to the fore. A careful scrutiny of the language data on Samoans was undertaken by the Study's commissioned demographers and appears as an appendix to their profile of the Census data (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b), Appendix: "Language Use Among Samoans: Evidence from the 1980 Census").

The 1980 Census questioned whether any language other than English was spoken in the home. If another language was spoken, the respondent was asked to rate the English language proficiency of household members. Table 22 indicates that 23.8 percent of persons living in Samoan households speak English exclusively at home. The remaining 76.2 percent spoke a language other than English (Samoan). Overall, 90.4 percent of all Samoans spoke English exclusively, "well", or "very well".

Age appears to be a factor in English language ability. English language proficiency tends to be lower among older Samoans. Table 23 displays these differences. The proportion of Samoans who speak only English at home is much higher among Samoans aged 5-17 than among Samoans over 18 years of age.

Age differences are even more pronounced if extreme age cohorts are compared. For example, only 4 percent of Samoans aged 20-24 speak English "not at all" or "not well", compared with 42 percent of Samoans 65 and over. Differences are even greater among Samoan women. About 3 percent of women aged 20-24 speak English "not well" or "not at all", compared with 51 percent for women 65 and over (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b), Appendix).

Although the exact nature of the all complex relationships among education, language ability, age, and income has not been determined, several findings illustrate some of the relationships involved. For example, of Samoans over 25 years of age who can not speak English, only 20 percent are high school graduates. Almost half (48%) of the Samoans who can not speak English well have not completed any schooling past elementary school. Samoans with little or no English language ability fall into low income categories, whereas those speaking only English at home are most often found in higher income brackets. Table 24 summarizes the data relating per capita income and language ability. Per capita income of Samoans declines as English language proficiency decreases. Samoans with greater English language proficiencies have per capita incomes between $3,401 to $4,656, whereas those less facile in English have per capita incomes ranging from $2,270 to $2,997. Samoans in the United States who experienced difficulties speaking English (spoke English "not well" or "not at all") have per capita incomes ranging from 35 to 100 percent lower than Samoans who speak English proficiently.

Table 22

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BY SAMOANS AND ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN SELECTED STATES: 1980

	Speaks Only English At Home	Speaks Other Language At Home		
		Speaks English Well or Very Well	Speaks English Not Well	Speaks English Not At All
Percent of Persons in:				
United States	23.8	66.6	8.4	1.2
California	22.5	68.6	7.6	1.3
Hawaii	19.2	68.2	11.5	1.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Unpublished Tabulations, 1984.

Table 23

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE ABILITY OF SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES BY AGE: 1980

	Speaks Only English At Home	Speaks Other Language At Home	
		Speaks English Well or Very Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All
Percent of Samoans in U.S.:			
5-17	44.6	49.0	6.0
18+	33.4	57.0	9.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Unpublished Tabulations, 1984.

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Available evidence also suggests that English language skills affect the participation of Samoans in the labor market. Samoans with lower English language skills are more often employed in lower skill jobs--laborer, helper and cleaner occupations. Conversely, more Samoans who speak only English at home are employed in higher status occuptions and fewer work in laborer and service occupations (U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished tabulations, 1984). In Hawaii and California, Samoans with low English skills are less likely to be in the labor force, particularly females (Hayes & Levin 1983(b), Appendix).

Table 24

PER CAPITA INCOME OF UNRELATED SAMOAN INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH: 1980

	Speaks Only English At Home	Speaks Other Language At Home			
		Speaks English Very Well	Speaks English Well	Speaks English Not Well	Speaks English Not at All
Per Capita Income:	$3,401	$4,656	$4,594	$2,997	$2,270

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Unpublished Tabulations, 1984.

As expected, the incidence of Samoans living in poverty is greater among those with lower English language skills. Table 25 demonstrates these relationships.

Table 25

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE ABILITY AND SAMOANS IN POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980

	Speaks Only English At Home	Speaks Other Language At Home			
		Speaks English Very Well	Speaks English Well	Speaks English Not Well	Speaks English Not at All
Poverty Level:					
75%	13.8	16.0	23.5	30.9	23.0
125%	31.0	35.3	43.4	49.6	51.1
150%	37.3	43.2	52.9	58.8	61.1
200%	52.4	58.7	67.7	79.2	74.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Unpublished Tabulations, 1984.

The proportion of Samoans living in near-poverty (125% to 200% of poverty level) and severe poverty (below 75% of poverty level) ranged from 42 to 67 percent higher for those who had problems speaking English.

Language data contained in the 1980 Census may under-represent the difficulties with English actually faced by Samoans living in the United States (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b)and Appendix; U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished tabulations, 1984). In discussions with knowledgeable informants in California, Hawaii, and Washington, English language was always rated among the primary reasons why many local Samoans lived in poverty. Study staff were repeatedly told that language problems interfere with Samoans' finding employment as well as utilizing existing training and educational resources.

A paper commissioned by the Study explored this issue in greater depth (Shore & Platt, 1984). They noted that although many Samoans may speak English, their actual communicative competence in English--the ability to utilize and comprehend the language effectively in important situations--may be very minimal. Shore and Platt noted a number of communication problems commonly encountered by Samoans in English. These included the comprehension of colloquial language containing many idioms; confusion about complex verbal and written instructions; discontinuity in the social dimensions of communication, especially assumptions about appropriate behavior in social relations that differ radically between the United States and Samoa; and interpretation of non-verbal communication. All these factors, they argued, interact to adversely affect the communicative competence of Samoans residing in the United States.

In summary, available evidence tends to uphold the opinion firmly held in Samoan communities that problems with the English language affect a significant portion of Samoans living in the United States. Although sizeable numbers of Samoans may report that they speak English well, those who have not completely mastered the English language clearly have an additional problems in finding work and attaining economic self-sufficiency. Data from the 1980 U.S. Census indicate this connection. Education, labor force participation, income, and poverty are all related to English language ability.

Employment Profile

The labor markets in the areas where the majority of Samoans live contain large numbers of other migrants and immigrants. Particularly in California and Hawaii, where 81 percent of all Samoans in the United States reside, Samoans must compete with numerous individuals having the kinds of skills and experiences many Samoans possess. Competition for existing employment opportunities has recently increased as national and regional economies have gone through recent recessions. The effect on Samoans of these and other structural factors in the labor market must be considered in assessing the needs of the population.

Unemployment. Samoans in the United States have experienced higher rates of unemployment than the general population. Table 26 details the labor force status of Samoans in the United States and in Hawaii, California, and Washington.

At the time of the 1980 Census, 9.7 percent of all Samoans in the labor force were unemployed. Unemployment rates were somewhat higher for Samoan females (10.3%) than for males (9.4%). Numerically, however, a greater number of Samoan males were unemployed than females. Rates for both Samoan males and females were higher than their respective groups in the United States population as a whole: 81 percent higher for Samoan males and 51 percent higher for Samoan females.

Table 26

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF SAMOANS IN UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Characteristic	Total	California	Hawaii	Washington	Other States
Persons, 16 yrs and over	22,739	10,594	7,673	1,056	3,416
In the labor force	13,700	6,609	4,030	685	2,376
Percent	60.2	62.4	52.5	64.9	69.6
Unemployed	1,194	630	373	49	142
Percent unemployed	9.7	10.1	10.2	8.5	(NA)
Males	11,550	5,358	3,735	611	1,846
In the labor force	8,484	3,911	2,545	470	1,558
Percent	73.5	73.0	68.1	76.9	84.4
Unemployed	665	344	195	49	77
Percent unemployed	9.4	9.7	8.9	10.4	(NA)
Females	11,189	5,236	3,938	445	1,570
In the labor force	5,216	2,698	1,485	215	818
Percent	46.6	51.5	37.7	48.3	52.1
Unemployed	529	286	178	-	65
Percent unemployed	10.3	10.6	12.1	-	7.9

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

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In California and Hawaii proportionately more Samoans were unemployed than the state's population as a whole. In California 10.1 percent of all Samoans in the labor force were unemployed, a rate 1-1/2 times the overall state unemployment rate of 6.5 percent. The gap between Samoan and statewide unemployment rates in Hawaii was even greater. In Hawaii, the unemployment rate for Samoans was 10.2 percent, more than double the rate for the state as a whole. Samoan unemployment rates in Hawaii and California were the highest of any Asian and Pacific Islander group, with the exception of Asian Indian women in California (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b):26).

Since Samoans are a relatively young population, youth unemployment rates are particularly important. In general, youth in the United States experienced higher rates of unemployment than the adult population. The same held true for Samoan youth in the United States. However, a disproportionate number of Samoan youth were unemployed compared to youth in the United States as a whole. Table 27 demonstrates these differences.

Table 27

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF SAMOAN YOUTH
IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Characteristic	United States		California		Hawaii		Washington	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Percent unemployed, persons 16 to 19	16.9	21.0	14.4	29.5	12.0	19.2	14.7	7.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.

The available data indicate young Samoans are experiencing more severe problems in entering the labor market. For example, the unemployment rate for young Samoans in California was over twice the rate for youth as a whole in that state. The discrepency was somewhat less in Hawaii, but still over 1-1/2 times the statewide, rate of unemployment for those 16 to 19 year-olds in the labor force. In Washington, where Samoans appear to be enjoying high employment, the small number of Samoan youth in the labor force (51 total, 4 unemployed) makes the report suspect.

Occupation and Industry Distribution. The distribution of Samoan workers across industries in general mirrors the distribution of all U.S. workers in various industries. Table 28 presents those findings. The majority of the Samoan work force, like the overall work force in the United States was clustered into three industries: manufacturing, trade, and services. Proportionately more Samoans were employed in manufacturing, transportation service, and public administration. Conversely, Samoans were underrepresented in agriculture, mining, trade and professional services.

Some differences appear to exist between distributions in California and Hawaii. In California, proportionately more Samoans were employed in manufacturing and fewer in trade. The same general patterns also exist in Hawaii, with the exception that more Samoans were employed in the entertainment industry.

An analysis of the occupations of Samoans provides more useful information about their socioeconomic status. Table 29 and Figure 6 present the distribution of Samoan workers in various occupations. Samoans in the United States were reasonably distributed across most occupations, with the exception of managerial and professional occupations. Samoans were underrepresented in these occupations; the proportion of non-Samoans in managerial and professional occupations was about 1.8 times higher than of Samoans.

There are differences in occupations held by Samoan men and women. Although both Samoan men and women were overrepresented in service, operator, fabricator, and laborer occupations, Samoan men were most overrepresented in service occupations, while Samoan women were most overrepresented in the operator, fabricator classification. In addition, a higher proportion of Samoan women worked in precision production occupations than did the United States labor force as a whole. Employed Samoan males were concentrated in operator, fabricator, and laborer occupations. Over one in every three employed male Samoans in the United States (34%) worked in these occupations. By disaggregating the various occupations within this classification, it can be seen that approximately one half the males were employed as operators and fabrications; 28 percent as handler/cleaner/helpers and laborers; and 22 percent in transportation and material moving occupations.

Table 28

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN WORKERS BY INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Industry	United States		California		Hawaii	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Number:						
Persons, 16 yrs and over	171,214,000	22,739	18,127,000	10,594	723,000	7,673
Employed, 16 yrs and over	97,639,000	11,098	10,640,000	5,595	415,000	3,283
Percent:						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	3.0	1.7	3.1	1.0	3.5	2.1
Mining	1.1	0.4	0.4	-	0.1	-
Construction	5.9	5.3	5.7	3.7	7.2	8.8
Manufacturing	22.4	23.4	20.3	32.6	7.9	9.5
Transportation	5.8	6.4	5.4	5.5	7.2	8.1
Communication	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.0
Wholesale trade	4.3	2.9	4.4	3.2	3.9	2.2
Retail trade	16.1	13.7	16.5	13.0	19.9	14.9
Banking and credit agencies	2.3	2.1	2.7	2.9	2.6	1.2
Insurance, real estate	3.8	2.9	4.5	2.9	5.0	2.5
Business and repair service	4.2	5.2	5.4	5.1	4.3	6.7
Private households	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.5
Other personal services	2.4	4.2	2.5	3.0	7.1	7.2
Entertainment and recreation	1.0	4.4	1.7	0.9	1.7	10.7
Professional services	20.3	17.6	20.0	17.5	17.7	14.9
Public administration	5.3	7.2	5.1	6.0	10.0	9.6

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

Table 29

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN WORKERS BY OCCUPATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

Major Category of Occupation	United States		California		Hawaii	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Employed, 16 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managerial, professional	22.7	12.4	25.1	11.2	23.5	11.1
Technical, sales, administrative support	30.3	26.4	32.6	29.7	32.0	20.7
Service occupations	12.9	19.8	12.6	15.2	17.9	28.7
Farming, forestry, fishing	2.9	1.8	2.8	0.7	3.4	3.2
Precision production, craft	12.9	12.5	12.3	13.4	11.6	11.5
Operators, fabricators, laborers	18.3	27.1	14.5	29.7	11.7	24.9
MALES						
Employed, 16 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managerial, professional	23.6	11.8	26.7	9.8	24.6	9.1
Technical, sales, administrative support	19.0	16.4	21.0	19.5	19.3	10.8
Service occupations	9.2	17.3	9.9	13.8	14.4	24.7
Farming, forestry, fishing	4.3	2.9	4.1	1.1	5.0	4.8
Precision production, craft	20.7	17.6	19.4	19.8	19.6	16.1
Operators, fabricators, laborers	23.2	34.0	18.8	36.0	17.0	34.5
FEMALES						
Employed, 16 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managerial, professional	21.5	13.3	23.0	13.1	22.2	14.3
Technical, sales, administrative support	45.6	40.4	48.1	43.2	46.9	36.0
Service occupations	17.9	23.2	16.2	17.1	22.0	34.7
Farming, forestry, fishing	1.0	0.3	1.1	0.2	1.5	0.7
Precision production, craft	2.3	5.3	2.9	5.0	2.1	4.3
Operators, fabricators, laborers	11.7	17.4	8.7	21.4	5.3	10.1

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

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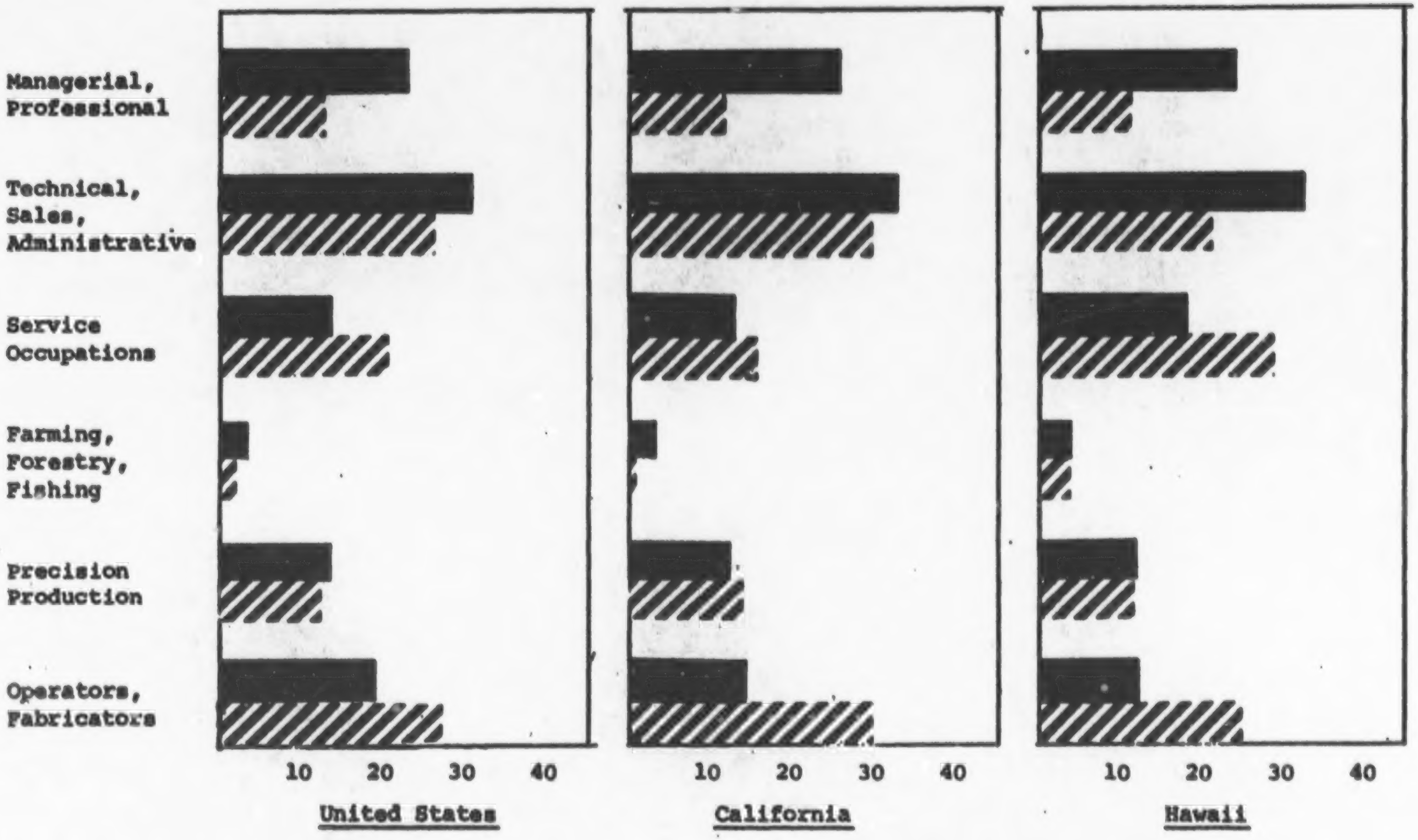
Figure 6

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOAN WORKERS BY OCCUPATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980



Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

■ U.S. total population

▨ Samoans

Close to two-thirds of employed Samoan women were clustered in two occupational groups. About 63 percent of employed Samoan women work in technical, sales, and administrative support (40.4%) and service occupations (23.2%). Over 93 percent of jobs held by women in technical, sales and administrative support occupations were in sales and administrative support occupations. About 94 percent of the women employed in service occupations work in food (32%), cleaning (16%), health and personal service occupations (46%).

Occupational trends for Samoans in California and Hawaii tended to mirror the national distribution. In general Samoans were overrepresented in services and operator, fabricator, and laborer occupations and underrepresented as managers and professionals. However some contrasts between the two states exist. For example, in Hawaii the greatest overrepresentation of females is in service occupations, but for males the greatest overrepresentation is in the operator, fabricator, and laborer catgory. In California the largest overrepresentation for both men and women was in the operator, fabricator, and laborer occupations.

The distribution of Samoan workers by occupations was less favorable than the distribution of Samoan workers by industry. Although the distribution of Samoans among various occupations was similar to that of the overall United States labor force, Samoans tended to be clustered in occupations with lower wages and status. The higher the concentration of Samoans in lower paying jobs, the greater difficulty Samoans have providing for the needs of their significantly larger families.

Factors in Employment

A number of factors impact Samoans' access to employment in the United States. These have been identified through both analysis of secondary data and on-site discussions with Samoans and service providers. There is a high degree of consensus among the Study's Advisory Board and members of the local Samoan communities that the following factors hinder Samoans from competing effectively in local labor markets:

- Limited English language proficiency and communicative competence in American English.
- Lack of education.
- Lack of skill training appropriate for labor markets in the United States.

- Lack of work experience appropriate for labor markets in the United States.
- Racial discrimination.
- Differences in customs and expectations regarding employment between the United States and American Samoa.
- Insufficient information about local labor markets.
- Certification requirements.

The numerous Samoan individuals and groups with whom Study staff met named several of those factors as being the most problematic for Samoans in the United States: lack of English language proficiency, lack of appropriate education, and job training were most frequently mentioned.

Lack of familiarity about life in the United States also creates problems for many Samoans. Traditional Samoan practices in employment are often different from those in the United States. For example, in formal situations with persons of higher status, Samoans avoid eye contact, keeping their eyes lowered. What may appear to an employer as disinterest and/or apathy is, in reality, a sign of respect. These behaviors often have serious negative consequences for Samoans in job interview situations (Shore & Platt, 1984:29).

Numerous Samoan informants in Hawaii indicated that discrimination against Samoans is a major barrier for those trying to access local labor markets. There is widespread perception, among Samoans and Hawaii service providers, that Samoans must overcome many negative racial stereotypes. Informants in California and Washington, however, felt that discrimination is not a major problem in their states.

English language and communication problems have been discussed previously. For those seeking work, language problems are most pronounced among the elderly, women, and those who resided in Samoa for an appreciable time. Many Samoans who speak some English still do not possess full command of written and verbal English. At work, for example, Samoans may indicate they understand a complex verbal order when they really do not (Shore & Platt, 1984).

The educational attainment of Samoans has been discussed above. Limited educational backgrounds present problems for many Samoans seeking work, although the nature of the problem varies within the Samoan population. For example, since schools in Samoa differ in curriculum and pedagogy from schools in the United States, those schooled in Samoa may not be as competitive as those with equivalent years of schooling in the United States. Of the young Samoans going to school in the United States, many drop out of school or are tracked into general remedial education classes. The problems of Samoan youth are considered in detail in the section which follows. Relatively few Samoans participate in existing skills training programs, whether they are school-based, private proprietary programs, or other job training activities such as JTPA funded programs. Without appropriate skills, Samoans cannot obtain the better paying jobs in local job markets.

Many Samoans do not have employment experiences that are considered appropriate for their U.S. locales. Those who worked previously in Samoa may discover that analogous jobs do not exist in the United States labor markets. Others, especially young people entering the labor market for the first time, find that employers are reluctant to hire individuals with no previous job experience.

Insufficient information about local labor markets is a problem for many Samoans living in the United States. Samoans' labor market information tends to come through traditional channels of kinship and church, information that is restricted to occupations known within the community, incomplete and often inappropriate for the U.S. community in which they reside. Job markets in the United States differ from those in Samoa. So do ways of finding employment. Many Samoans are at a disadvantage because they do not possess effective job search skills. These skills include methods of searching for work, filling out job applications, and interviewing. The lack of labor market information combines with insufficient job search skills to compound Samoans' difficulty in finding employment.

Particularly in California, certification poses a barrier for many Samoans. Women who were nurses in Samoa have difficulty passing state licensing programs. Many trades require licenses for performing specific jobs. For example, in Los Angeles County a welder must have Los Angeles County and City licenses, as well as specific licenses for a particular kind of welding (e.g. pipe, TIG, etc.)

All of the preceding factors impact the ability of many Samoans to obtain suitable employment. Many Samoans must overcome several of these barriers to find work. For those who experience a combination of these hindrances, access to the local labor market may effectively be blocked.

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Service Provision and Utilization

Finding 3: The existing array of services is not adequate to meet current and anticipated future needs of Samoans in the United States.

As reported in the preceding section, Study analysis of data on social and economic status of Samoans in the United States revealed unacceptably high levels of poverty and unemployment among the population, deriving from a number of factors, including educational deficiencies and education and training inappropriate for the United States labor market; English language deficiencies; and the high ratio of family dependents to wage earners. Employed Samoans are clustered in low status, low pay occupations. Demographic projections indicate that the population will continue to grow. Indications are that, without intervention, this growing population will continue in poverty and fail to find adequate employment in the labor markets of their primary areas of residence.

The Study thus turned to an analysis of the services available to U.S. Samoans, in order to ascertain whether programs are meeting, or can be expected to meet, expanding needs relating to the issues of unemployment, poverty, and training. Staff investigated services and facilities for direct assistance, housing, employment, training, and education.

As the following pages demonstrate, Study participants reported and Study data confirm that Samoans in the United States face significant barriers to employment which confine their increasing numbers to life in poverty. Samoans are rarely offered specialized programs, and the programs oriented toward the general population may exceed their educational and English language skills levels. Few agencies have Samoan staff, even though there is a strong positive correlation between presence of Samoan staff and both utilization of services by Samoans and their success as clients. Samoans, especially recent migrants and older people, lack knowledge of American approaches to service utilization and employment relations that would enable them to effectively access services and to succeed in training and workplace settings. Service providers are largely ignorant of Samoans' cultural background and lack training in appropriate ways to work with and assist Samoans. Outreach to Samoan communities has been very limited and, when attempted, has often failed to take advantgage of—or respect—existing community networks. Thus Samoans are effectively excluded from services that they so urgently require by inapproppropriate design and lack of coordination with the potential client population.

This section and that which follows report the results of Study investigation into appropriateness, availability, and utilization of employment-, training-, and education-related services for Samoans, particularly as they are reflected in the primary metropolitan areas of Samoan residence: Honolulu, Seattle-Tacoma, San Francisco, and Southern California's San Diego and Los Angeles-Long Beach areas. Findings in four Study field sites are remarkable for their consistency.

In discussion of Finding 3, the Report focuses on employment services, vocational and job training, and direct services which should be available to the general Samoan population; the following section, addressing Finding 4, will highlight the needs of Samoan youth for education, employment services, and job training. The descriptions of service provision and utilization are preceded by a brief outline of the methods by which the Study staff arrived at Findings 3 and 4.

Three major sections follow here: an analysis of the factors that affect provision of services to Samoans; a report on program participation by Samoans, comparing and illustrating their utilization of different types of services; and, finally, a description of five models for service delivery and their appropriateness for Samoans.

Methodology

These findings, and those on Samoan youth which follow under Finding 4, draw upon a variety of sources, which, unlike the U.S. Census data which formed the basis for Finding 2, are sometimes partial, impressionistic, or not scientifically validated. However, widespread consensus among informants in our four site communities suggests that the perceptions held among Samoans and service providers are an accurate reflection of the situations in those locales. (For range and numbers of participants, see Appendix A.) Statements by interviewees strongly parallel findings of local and state studies on a variety of the questions raised here.

U.S. census data are available on only a few of the issues addressed here. Although complete and fully accurate assessment of Samoan service needs and program utilization awaits further, quantitative research, there is remarkable consistency in the information that the Study has uncovered, regardless of its nature or source. Small scale surveys by educational, employment, and training agencies and Study staff examinations of their records indicate that Samoans are not present among the clientele in numbers proportional with their levels of poverty and unemployment as reflected in the 1980 U.S. Census. Service provider administrators and line staff interviewed for the Study concurred with Samoan community representatives that Samoans lack information about and strategies for accessing most services. Examples from scholarly and public documents, agency records, interviews and group meetings are given below to illustrate a highly consistent picture of underutilization. See also the description of fieldwork and the Community Conferences in the "Methodology" section of Chapter I and for a profile of participants, Appendix A.

The Study finding that the existing array of services is not effective enough in serving Samoans' present and future needs represents a careful synthesis of qualitative and quantitative information. Judging from the convergence of data, analysis, and opinion from scholars, service provider personnel, and Samoans in all sectors of the four communities studied, this finding can be considered an accurate assessment of present conditions.

Factors Affecting Service Participation

A significant obstacle to determining the level of Samoan participation in social services, employment, and job training programs is their invisibility. Frequently Samoans are an "invisible minority" (Kotchek, 1975), not counted specifically as a group by programs, schools, or local governments. Although certain programs in areas where large numbers of Samoans reside do record Samoan participation, in other areas and in many programs in Study site communities there is no numerical evidence of Samoan participation. Either ethnic group membership is not recorded or, when it is, Samoans are subsumed in larger, inconsistently defined categories of ethnicity, national origin, or language background. For example, California's Employment Development Department and the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services list Samoans in the very broad category "Asian and Pacific Islanders, not otherwise classified."

Programs find it burdensome to track groups who constitute only a small percentage of the local population. Samoans represent, according to the 1980 Census, only 1.2 percent of the Asian and Pacific Islander population in the United States and just 15.2 percent of the total Pacific Islanders. When

Samoans are combined in the Asian and Pacific Islander category, the numerically larger racial and ethnic groups disguise the characteristics of the smaller Samoan population. The groups comprising that category differ markedly in their social and economic status and employment training needs.

While much desirable quantitative information on Samoan service needs and utilization remains unavailable, the Study constructed an analysis that represents service-related concerns voiced in all the Samoan communities studied. According to local data, service providers, and the Samoan communities, Samoan participation is affected by factors that can be characterized as falling into three types: cultural and linguistic differences between providers and the client population; insufficient and/or inappropriate outreach, information, and referral strategies; and structural barriers in program design, funding, and service delivery.

An additional, complicating factor in Samoan service utilization is the circular pattern of migration that leads Samoans to alter their place of residence with considerable frequency (Franko, 1983). Many Samoans travel back and forth to Samoa for extended periods of time, particularly when they can take up residence and agriculture on their extended families' property in the islands. Failure to find employment and failure to gain access to necessary services may contribute to this pattern. This aspect of the problem was not well recognized by service providers, most of whom assume a static residential model.

Two of the site communities had conducted research into the failure of their service agencies to reach the Samoan population. A Seattle Department of Human Resources study (Seattle, 1980), based on extensive interviews with Samoan leaders, identified the following barriers to Samoans gaining access to existing services: lack of information on available services; unfamiliarity with how services are organized; pride, or reluctance to ask for help from agencies; transportation problems; program eligibility guidelines which do not fit Samoan family structures; and communication problems. A Southern California survey (Shu, 1980) gathered Samoan perceptions of "weaknesses" of government programs. Table 30 displays Shu's findings. The elements of services most often criticized by Samoans involve lack of information about the service (especially poor outreach efforts) and language/cultural differences (low Samoan representation and insensitivity to Samoans).

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Table 30

WEAKNESS OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AS PERCEIVED BY THE RESPONDENTS

	Category	Count	Percent of Responses
1.	Poor outreach efforts	147	32.5
2.	Low Samoan representation	73	16.2
3.	Insensitivity to Samoans	67	14.8
4.	Lack of funding	54	11.9
5.	Red tape	43	9.5
6.	Lack of services	31	6.9
7.	Poor Samoan leadership	15	3.3
8.	Palagi* prejudice	10	2.2
9.	Poor planning	8	1.8
10.	Poor personnel	4	0.9
		452	100.0

Source: Shu, 1980.
*White, non-Samoan

These local survey findings were mirrored in Study investigations in Seattle and Southern California, and found to hold for Honolulu and San Francisco as well. Although the four site communities varied somewhat in the weight they gave to linguistic/cultural, information/outreach, and structural factors, similar concerns were voiced by providers, educators, governmental personnel, and the members of the four Samoan communities.

Samoan Language and Culture. Informants in every locale visited during this Study, both Samoans and service providers, asserted that many Samoans would not or could not fully utilize many social service, educational, and training programs unless Samoan staff were available. Community Conference participants in all locales concurred.

Problems with English, especially for older Samoans and newer migrants, and insufficient knowledge of procedures of service systems in the United States keep many people away from programs in which no Samoan bilingual workers are employed. One California Employment Development Department (EDD) manager, for example, estimated that before two Samoan bilingual staff members were employed only about 1 percent of the office's caseload was Samoan. Now, with two Samoan bilingual staff, approximately 8 percent of current cases are Samoan. Similarly, a State of Hawaii Employment Placement Office supervisor noted a marked decline in the numbers of Samoans requesting services after their Samoan bilingual staff member left the agency.

Data compiled for this Study by a community-based employment program in Seattle (1984, unpublished) dramatically illustrated the effect of having Samoans on staff. Table 31 shows levels of service to Samoan clients by this Seattle Program over a 50 month period from January 1980 through February 1984. Samoan participation and placement rates were substantially higher when a Samoan worker was present, compared to periods when no Samoan worker was present. Although a Samoan counselor was available for only 25 out of the 50 months surveyed, 180 out of 224 client registrations (80.3%) and 51 out of 57 client placements (89%) were achieved when the Samoan counselor was on the staff.

Table 31

EFFECTS OF SAMOAN STAFF ON PROGRAM PARTICIPATION BY SAMOANS IN SEATTLE-TACOMA AREA EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Period	Samoan Counselor? & Status	Samoan Intake	Avg. Intake Per Month	Samoan Placement	Avg. Placement Per Month
1-12/1980 1-4 /1981	Yes Full Time	70	4.4	29	1.8
5-12/1981 1-5 /1982	No	21	1.6	2	0.2
6-9 /1982	Yes Part Time Volunteer	14	3.5	2	0.5
10-12/1982 1-9 /1983	No	23	1.9	4	0.3
10-12/1983 1-2 /1984	Yes Full Time	96	19.2	20	4.0

Source: Private compilation for the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans, 1984.

The majority of programs which serve Samoans do not have any Samoans on staff. In none of the four Study sites are current resource guides on the range of services available in the Samoan language.

Samoans have traditionally been a highly self-sufficient people, caring for the needs of their kin group and their village through self-help networks coordinated by the matai. (See Chapter II, above, for a description of traditional Samoan life and values.) It is unfamiliar and sometimes unpleasant for Samoans to turn to outsiders for assistance or advice. Strong family and church networks within the Samoan community remain a major source of mutual assistance. Shu's (1980) unpublished survey of over 300 Samoan households in the Southern California community lists self-reported sources of help (Table 32). There is a clear pattern of preference for using relatives, friends, and ministers for both financial aid and advice. Only for financial aid do Samoans frequently turn to agencies, with 45 percent of respondents indicating social workers as one source of financial assistance.

The family among Samoans is comprised of larger kin groups than the definitions used as the basis for estimation of service delivery needs by American governmental service agencies. Families are typically multigenerational and include extended kin. Because these family units are not congruent with American expectations, it is difficult for Samoans to communicate their needs to service personnel and sometimes impossible for them to qualify for services to which they are, in fact, entitled. Regulations, or even expectations, which militate against kin group-based social and residential patterns contribute to disintegration of the traditional social and authority structures. Samoan communities deeply fear loss of direction for and control over their youth, if requirements of U.S. residence erode their own custom.

Interviews indicate that very few non-Samoan staff in these agencies have received any orientation or training in Samoan cultural values and lifestyle. This is especially true in programs or locales where Samoans constitute a small percentage of clientele. Samoans' inexperience with expectations and requirements of American services combines with service providers' relative lack of orientation to Samoans' needs and expectations to create communication barriers. The difficulties entailed in using services may then be perceived by clients as greater than the potential benefits of using the programs.

Table 32

SOURCES OF HELP TO THE RESPONDENTS, BY GIVEN PROBLEMS

	Financial Aid		Advice	
Sources of Help	Count	Percent of Cases	Count	Percent of Cases
1. Relatives	292	79.1	273	73.2
2. Friends	169	45.8	229	61.4
3. Ministers	109	29.5	283	75.9
4. Neighbors	32	8.7	67	18.0
5. Co-workers	43	11.7	42	11.3
6. Social workers	166	45.0	41	11.0
7. Others	55	14.9	6	1.6
8. Don't know	10	2.7	7	1.9
	876	100.0	948	100.0

Source: Shu, 1980.

Outreach and Access to Information. Discussions during interviews, group meetings, and Community Conferences suggested that Samoans, particularly recently arrived migrants, have insufficient knowledge of social service, training, and employment programs for which they may be eligible or to which they are entitled. As the Southern California study (reported in Table 30, above) indicates, Samoans regard lack of outreach as the strongest inhibiting factor in their utilization of services: "poor outreach efforts" accounted for 32.5 percent of the responses in that study. Unless specific outreach efforts into the Samoan community are made through traditional information networks such as churches and kin groups or through local Samoan community-based organizations, it appears that employment, training, and social service programs will continue to be underutilized by Samoans.

Although public cash assistance and food programs are known and used by Samoans, there are a variety of other services about which they are ill-informed. During the three-month period April to June 1980, the Seattle Department of Human Resources documented services to 12,206 individuals. Only

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24 of these (0.2%) were Samoans or Pacific Islanders. Out of 30 categories of services supported by the city's Department of Human resources, no Samoans were recipients of services in 24 of these categories (Seattle, 1980).

Specific agencies have initiated outreach efforts. Among the most successful outreach strategies have been recruitment efforts in public housing facilities where Samoans reside, service provision in Samoan-occupied public housing, and subcontracting outreach efforts to Samoan-based organizations. These efforts were most successful when appropriate Samoan community channels were utilized.

Lack of up-to-date information among Samoans about job training programs was evidenced in the Community Conferences and interviews conducted for the Study. Information about former CETA programs was widespread in the community; Samoans were aware of CETA programs and the types of services they provided. But their information was out of date. There was very little awareness of CETA program phase-out, or even that PSE Title VI positions, phased out by fiscal 1981, are no longer available. Very few individuals had heard of JTPA programs, or, if they had, knew how or where to apply for them. Exceptions were noted where the intake site for JTPA-funded programs was located in a Samoan community-based organization or on the same location as former CETA programs.

On the other hand, Samoan youth in schools appear to have access to information about Summer Youth Employment programs, Job Corps, and other job training and placement activities for which information and outreach is generally provided in the public schools.

Structural Barriers. The design and policies of certain programs and services effectively preclude adequate provision of services to Samoans most in need. It is difficult for Samoans with limited English, limited understanding of American labor markets, and little knowledge of appropriate job search strategies, to participate in many programs which were designed with other populations in mind. In particular, Samoan participation appears to be most adversely affected by the design of mainstream employment placement services and current JTPA structure. The section "Employment, Training, and Job Services," below, takes up these issues in detail.

The extreme poverty of many among the Samoan population makes access to programs a virtual impossibility for some. In all site communities, but particularly in the Los Angeles area, lack of public transportation was cited as a serious impediment to participation. Even location of services in relative proximity to the Samoan communities did not eliminate the need for transportation, unless the individual lived in high density, predominantly Samoan public housing, as is the case for some Honolulu Samoans.

Samoan-specific social service and employment programs have suffered from lack of continuity and adequate funding. Several Samoan-specific programs funded under CETA Public Service Employment titles, for example, disappeared as federal funding was reduced. Confusion and a sense of disenfranchisement appear to have arisen from the inconsistent support given by local and federal government agencies to "Samoan" programs. In San Francisco one community-based organization, the National Office of Samoan Affairs, has been successful in maintaining a base of funding for various programs for the past eight years. In Hawaii, however, no consistently funded organization for special services, information, or referral for Samoans has been active. Hawaii Community Conference participants identified a strong need for a Samoan community center in the Honolulu area for distribution of services, information, and referral.

Program Participation

Generally, the clientele in the variety of social, employment, and educational programs coordinated by private non-profit organizations, cities, counties, states, and the federal government does not reflect equal participation by Samoans. Only in the cases of cash public assistance and food programs does Samoan participation approach their proportion in the eligible population. These findings are particularly important for consideration of employment and training planning, since they indicate that only the most basic needs are met by existing services, i.e., those that lessen the immediate problems of hunger and basic necessities. Educational, employment, and training programs that might lead Samoans out of poverty are less accessible and underutilized.

Cash Public Assistance Programs. Samoans in need of cash public assistance appear to have adequate information about and access to cash and food welfare programs. As their low economic profile would predict, 1980 U. S. Census data showed a higher proportion of Samoan families in the United

States receiving some public assistance income than families as a whole. Table 33 summarizes the 1980 Census data for public assistance income among Samoans in the United States, California, and Hawaii. It identifies the proportion of households receiving some cash public assistance. These figures represent only public assistance income; households may have received other sources of income as well. (The larger public assistance income for Samoans per household reflects their larger family size.) In California, over twice as many Samoan families received public assistance as the general population. In Hawaii, three and a half times as many Samoan families received some part of their income from cash public assistance, compared to the general population. With the exception of Vietnamese families (in 1980 recently arrived refugees), proportionately more Samoan families in the United States received public assistance than any other selected group.

Table 33

PERCENTAGE OF SAMOAN HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

	U.S.Total		California		Hawaii	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Households With Public Assistance (%)	8.0	22.0	9.6	19.9	8.8	32.7
Mean Earnings from Public Assistance ($)	2,518	4,354	3,036	4,322	3,161	4,487

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

In 1980 California Samoan families were a very small proportion (0.1%) of all families receiving public assistance, comparable to their incidence in the population (0.13%). In Hawaii 3.8 percent of all families receiving public assistance income were Samoan, although Samoans only comprised 1.5 percent of the state's population (Hayes & Levin, 1983(b)).

Current data from local public assistance agencies show similar trends. In January 1984, State of Hawaii Department of Social Services (DSS) estimated that approximately 8 percent of 25,000 public assistance cases were Samoan cases, a "case" being comprised either of an individual or a number of people in a family group. Although individuals in caseloads are not tracked separately in that system, a DSS administrator noted that Samoan cases generally encompass more individuals than the average number of persons in a case. Although Samoans comprise about 8 percent of all cases, in January 1984, no Samoan bilingual welfare caseworker was employed in the Hawaii DSS. However, intake forms in multiple languages, including Samoan, do ask if the client needs an interpreter, and interpreters are provided, if requested.

The City and County of San Francisco Social Services Department recorded 216 Samoan Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and General Assistance (GA) cases in March 1984. Samoans receiving AFDC and GA comprised 1.3 percent of the public assistance population; 1980 U.S Census estimates indicate they comprised 0.3 percent of the city's population. Samoans expect to have participated in cash public assistance programs in San Francisco at three and one third times their incidence in the population. Table 34 displays the numbers and aid categories for Samoans receiving assistance in San Francisco in March 1984. Samoans received assistance through AFDC and AFDC-U (Aid to Families with Dependent Children--Unemployed, a program for two-parent families where both are unemployed) at a higher level than they received general assistance or other aid categories. This pattern was noted in other site locales as well.

Los Angeles County does not record Samoans in public assistance records separate from the Asian and Pacific Islander category. However, limited data on some Samoans' welfare utilization in Los Angeles County was gathered from information recorded on primary language of clients, although it is only noted if the client cannot speak English. The following data represent, therefore, only those Samoan clients who have very limited English skills. As of April 1983, 181 Samoan language cases were active. Of these, 161 (89%) were AFDC cases; 5 (3%) were GA; 11 (6%) were Food Stamps only; and 4 (3%) were MediCal only.

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Table 34

ACTIVE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CASES CITY/COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO: MARCH 1984

Aid Category	Samoan	Total Public Assistance Cases	Percent of Total Public Assistance Cases
*AFDC			
(a) family	175	9,913	1.8%
(b) unemployed parent	41	2,483	1.7%
*Foster Care	8	1,312	.6%
MediCal	31	9,616	.3%
*General Assistance (County Program)	30	6,776	.4%
*Food Stamps Only non cash assistance	23	10,322	.2%
Total Mutually Exclusive Categories	277	30,806	

*Mutually Exclusive Categories

Source: Compilation for Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans, City and County of San Francisco, Social Services Department, March 1984. Figures not checked for standard errors.

The State of Washington Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) does not track Samoan cases separately as an ethnic group, including them under a non-refugee, Asian and Pacific Islander racial category. An April 1984 survey on language barriers among clients in all Washington State Community Services offices by Washington DSHS found 41 Samoans on current caseloads or requesting assistance in that month who could not understand or speak English. The six-month average ending April 1984 identified 15 Samoans who could not speak or understand English requesting assistance monthly.

Housing. Among Samoans living in the United States there is a high demand for public and low income housing. The demand for housing outstrips the availability of appropriate low-cost or public housing for Samoan families. The relative shortage of larger dwelling units contributes to the long waiting periods experienced by many Samoan families requesting public housing, and to crowding in low-cost housing. Samoans have the highest median number of persons per household of any racial group in the United States for both owner-occupied and rental housing. For renter-occupied housing units, the United States median is 1.99 persons per dwelling; for Samoans the median is 4.23 persons (U.S. Census, 1980). Also, second to the Vietnamese, Samoans had the lowest rate of owner-occupied housing units among selected racial groups—29 percent among Samoans compared to 69 percent for the general population (U.S. Census, 1980).

Housing is not a new problem to Samoans living in the United States. A 1973 study of Samoans in Hawaii (Omori, 1973:7) found that:

> Housing problems arise for the extended family in Hawaii where Samoans are faced with living accommodations not conducive to their life styles. According to one Samoan chief, "Samoan fales (homes) have no rooms, very little furniture and can sleep many people." . . . Housing regulations are not readily understood by a people who do not have the same concept of housing that the State has. Overcrowding prevails in housing not intended for extended families.

Samoan informants in Hawaii expressed concern that high density public housing projects discouraged acculturation and encouraged discrimination. In other locales, where public housing is not as concentrated, this was not articulated as a problem.

According to 1980 Census counts, fully 23 percent of the Samoan population in Hawaii resided in just three Census tracts made up of public housing. These areas also had the highest percentages of Samoans in the total population:

- Kuhio Park Terrace (tract 62.02). 1,428 Samoans comprise 53.6% of the total tract population.
- Kalihi Valley Homes (tract 63.02). 1,285 Samoans comprise 43.6% of total the tract population.
- Mayor Wright Housing (tract 54). 519 Samoans comprise 30.2% of total the tract population.

(Franco, 1983:16)

Housing projects may be sites for adjunct social service delivery, including public health outreach programs, food distribution centers, and senior citizens programs for Samoans.

Adult Education. The participation of Samoan adults in local adult education programs is extremely difficult to ascertain. The 1980 U.S. Census recorded only 329 Samoans 35 years old and over enrolled in school and found that 10.8 percent of Samoans 25-34 years old were enrolled in school. (U.S. Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1980:Table 160). No community college system in any of the areas with large Samoan communities keeps records of the numbers of Samoan students in their programs. The only available enrollment figures for Samoans are those from Hawaii community adult schools.

Samoans attending group meetings conducted during the Study identified a need for English as a Second Language (ESL) classes for adult Samoans, to be held near their residences and preferably including bilingual Samoan staff. However, local California and Hawaii adult school programs stated that their ESL classes are not well attended by Samoans, when compared to other immigrant groups in their areas. Data from Farrington Community School for Adults, the adult school center closest to the largest concentration of Samoans in Honolulu, supports this contention. Its survey of adult basic education, high school, and naturalization classes conducted during the period April 16, 1982 to June 15, 1983 counted 8,222 adult enrollees, of whom 370 (4.5%) were Samoan. Although Samoan enrollment was higher than their proportion of the Honolulu city-wide population, Samoan participation was far lower than the proportion of Samoans in the surrounding neighborhood service area (Farrington Community Adult School, 1984). Lack of Samoan-speaking staff may be a factor.

Employment, Training and Job Services. California, Hawaii, and Washington employment services offices—the providers of free job referral and placement services—do not record the numbers of Samoan clients they serve. Interviews with program administrators and discussions with individual Samoan groups and community leaders indicate that these job services are seldom utilized by Samoans unless a Samoan bilingual is on the staff. Samoan underutilization is attributed, by providers and potential clients, to a variety of factors, including language proficiency expectations, lack of information or misinformation about eligibility requirements and procedures, and reluctance or embarassment in asking non-Samoan strangers for help in locating work.

Apparently, these inhibiting factors are substantially neutralized when a Samoan is known to work in the agency. The marked increase in intake and placement for Samoans at the Seattle community-based employment program discussed previously (Table 32, above) confirms these widespread perceptions.

In addition to state employment services, employment counseling and assistance is often available in local communities through adult schools, community-based organizations, or other service organizations, but Samoans lack information on the range of employment services available to them.

Job Training Programs. Job training and retraining for the American workplace are consistently identified by Samoan communities as a pressing need. Samoan adults report that they attempt to avail themselves of federally-funded employment and training programs, adult school and community college vocational programs, and private profit and nonprofit vocational training programs. Data on participation in all but the federally-funded programs are generally unavailable for Samoans as a separate group.

This Study's group discussions, community meetings, and interviews with vocational training providers indicated that, formerly, CETA programs and, currently, the JTPA program are the most often used training opportunities. Samoan participation in these programs is almost always in mainstream CETA and JTPA programs designed for the general population. These opportunities are most appropriate for those Samoans who are confident English speakers and who have some job skills appropriate for the United States labor market. There are only a handful of Samoan-specific training programs and an additional few programs tailored to the needs and skills of populations who share Samoans' employment disadvantages.

Many Samoans lack up-to-date information on the range and types of training available in their locality. Study informants consistently note that most training programs require more advanced English skills than many Samoans possess. The Seattle study (Seattle, 1980) confirmed this contention, finding insufficient opportunities to obtain job training or enter an apprenticeship program in a skilled trade for youth out of high school and for older migrants:

> Since 1971, no one of Polynesian heritage has been enrolled in a paying apprenticeship program and less than 0.05% of all persons graduating to journeyman status in approximately 300 trade careers in the State of Washington have been Polynesian.

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Former CETA programs. Table 35 summarizes participation of "other Pacificans," assumed to be primarily Samoans, in CETA programs of the City and County of San Francisco during the 11-month period from July 1974 through September 1983. These data demonstrate that more "other Pacificans" were served in the youth employment program than all other titles combined. Of the 1,612 participating in all programs, 189 were placed in jobs, however 91 percent of the placements were for persons participating in CETA programs. Other data available from the City and County of San Francisco for the 12-month period October 1982 to September 1983 list 67 "other Pacificans" served in CETA Title VII programs, 34 percent of whom found jobs. This number includes 40 Samoans who enrolled in a training program conducted by the National Office of Samoan Affairs, a Samoan community-based organization, 40 percent (16) of whom were placed in jobs.

Table 35

"OTHER PACIFICANS" PARTICIPATING IN CETA PROGRAMS,
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO: JULY 1974 TO SEPTEMBER 1983

Program	Number "Other Pacificans"	Percent of All Participants
Summer Youth Employment Program	838	2.0
All Other CETA Titles	774	1.1
TOTAL	1,612	1.0
Total Placed in Jobs	189	1.0

Source: City and County of San Francisco
Mayor's Office of Employment and Training Annual Report,
December 14, 1983.

CETA participation data for City and County of Honolulu programs for the period October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1983 are displayed in Table 36. The highest participation rate for Samoans was in Summer Youth Employment programs, confirming information gathered in Honolulu and other communities that youth had information about and access to this program. Participation rates are lower for adult titles in general and are somewhat higher than the percentage of Samoans in the Honolulu population, 1.8 percent according to 1980 Census counts. However, Samoans make up a larger percentage of persons in poverty than the average for the Honolulu SMSA: the rate of poverty for Samoan persons in Hawaii is 40.2 percent (1980 U.S. Census). At this rate approximately 5,222 Samoans in Honolulu are below the poverty level. In the Honolulu area, 9.5 percent of the general population or approximately 72,485, are below the poverty level (U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC-81-C, 1983), a marked contrast to Samoans. By these estimates, Samoans make up at least

Table 36

SAMOAN PARTICIPATION IN CETA PROGRAMS, CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU: OCTOBER 1, 1980 TO DECEMBER 30, 1982

Program*	Number of Samoans Participants[1]	Total Number of Participants[2]	Percent Samoan
Title IIB	210	5,930	3.5
Title IID	28	364	7.6
Youth Employment Training Program	37	1,733	2.1
Title VI City & State	18	495	3.6
Youth Community Conservation Improvement Program	10	205	4.9
Private Sector Initiative Program	32	911	3.5
Target Jobs Tax Credit Programs	119	2,011	5.9
Summer Youth Employment Program	562	5,560	10.1
TOTAL	1,016	17,209	5.9

[1] Source: Office of Human Resources, City and County of Honolulu, in Franco, 1983.

[2] Source: Office of Human Resources, City and County of Honolulu, 1984.

*Not mutually exclusive categories. Totals reflect enrollments in program slots rather than numbers of individuals.

7.2 percent of those living in poverty in the Honolulu SMSA. Thus Samoans did not participate in these CETA programs in proportion to their level of economic disadvantage in the population. They comprised only 5.9 percent of slots counted, including the Summer Youth Employment Program, and 3.9 percent of training and employment slots counted, not including the Summer Youth Employment Program.

Job Training Partnership Act Programs. As currently structured, JTPA programs, like most community college and apprenticeship programs, require participants to be functional in English as a prerequisite for entry into job training. Further, JTPA stipends for training are extremely limited, making participation by those who are impoverished, but not receiving welfare, virtually impossible. Both of these prerequisites hinder Samoan participation.

In the Los Angeles Service Delivery Area (SDA) policy gives first priority in JTPA slots to recipients of General Relief, a county public assistance program. Because most Samoans receiving assistance are members of families with children, they receive AFDC and are effectively prevented from gaining access to JTPA programs.

Many Samoan families interviewed in the course of this Study stated that they could not afford to take advantage of these job training possibilities, since they would have to give up any minimal income they were now earning to attend training to upgrade their skills. Recognizing these limitations, some programs have made efforts to adapt program structure to make it more accessible to needy families. The Honolulu SDA, for instance, now permits JTPA participants to work half-time and attend training half-time without losing eligibility.

Further, several administrators of current JTPA programs voiced the opinion that program design in which fixed-cost reimbursement to contractors or service providers is contingent on successful job placement of participants tends to screen out potential program participants who have the fewest skills and least job experience, a common characteristic for non-migrant as well as migrant Samoans.

Data obtained for the City and County of Honolulu service delivery area, comprising the island of Oahu, show that 6.8 percent of those currently receiving JTPA are Samoan (Table 37). Two-thirds of the Samoan participants are women. The primary training subcontractor is an agency providing training in clerical occupations. This trend is also mirrored in the total population receiving JTPA services in Oahu.

Table 37

SAMOAN PARTICIPATION IN JTPA PROGRAMS, CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU SERVICE DELIVERY AREA: OCTOBER 1983 - MAY 1984

Program Title IIa	Number of Samoan Participants	Total Number of Participants	Percent Samoan
Females	43	608	7.1
Males	22	348	6.3
Total	65	956	6.8

Source: City and County of Honolulu Service Delivery Area, 1984.

Young Samoans participated in the Oahu JTPA programs at higher ratios than Samoans over the age of 21. Samoans between the ages of 16 and 19 made up the largest proportion of Samoans using JTPA services in Oahu. About 48 percent of participating Samoans were in the 16 to 19 age cohort, compared to only 13 percent of the total JTPA participants. Thus the proportion of Samoan youth in JTPA was 3.7 times the proportion of the total number of 16 to 19 year olds receiving JTPA services. Conversely, only about 30 percent of Samoan participants were older than 21 years of age, compared to about 71 percent for all JTPA participants. Samoans over 21 participated at a rate 57 percent lower than did adults 21 and over in the participant total.

No Samoans with limited English language proficiency have been served by JTPA programs in Oahu and only about 7 percent of the total number of JTPA participants had limited English language proficiencies. The many Samoans not proficient in English are apparently precluded from accessing any JTPA-funded services in the Oahu area.

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As this discussion indicates, there is serious concern among professionals and community members that the current JTPA structure and requirements have diminished Samoan participation in job training. Samoan participation has declined since JTPA replaced CETA. Current JTPA programs cannot efffectively meet the needs of most Samoans, requiring as they do higher educational achievement than many of the population have acquired. Although some local programs have made efforts toward adjustment of their eligibility and performance criteria to enable greater Samoan participation, the abilities of local SDAs and PICs to adapt to this small minority population are highly restricted. Federal regulations stipulate goals, eligibility and performance standards for JTPA programs which are not subject to local adjustment. Furthermore, local agencies must address a variety of demands from affected groups, among whom the Samoans are only a weak voice.

Study informants also point to the general lack of stipends and reliance on fixed-cost reimbursements as barriers to Samoan utilization of federally-funded job training. The Oahu data confirm Study interviewees' contentions that, in all four site communities, Samoans, especially adults and non-English proficient individuals, do not have sufficient access to job training. Samoan youth participation is clustered in Summer Youth Employment programs, brief programs which do not offer permanent job placements.

Youth employment and training programs. Some Samoan young people are gaining access to youth programs, as CETA and JTPA participation rates demonstrate (Table 36, above). Available records indicate that over half of the total number of Samoans who have participated in these programs are youth. And over half of all Samoan participation has been through the Summer Youth Employment Program. The type and quality of training and work experience these programs offer vary from one locale and one worksite to another. Still, group meetings with Samoan youth indicate that these programs have provided basic skill training as well as entry into and experience in local labor markets, offering first work opportunities for many youth who otherwise encounter substantial barriers locating initial employment. Samoan youth have participated in other types of CETA youth programs, but to a far lesser extent than the Summer Youth Employment Program.

A 1983 report commissioned by the Hawaii State Commission on Population and the Hawaiian Future (Franco, 1983) documents Samoan participation in the Job Corps, a federally-funded, residential training program for youth. The Hawaii Job Corps Center at Koko Head provided training to at least 206 Samoans (173 males and 33 females) between 16 and 21 years of age from 1973 to 1982. Of the Samoan males, 19.1 percent completed the training program; 45.5 percent of the females completed training. Approximately 49.1 percent of males and 45.5 percent of the females stayed in the program more than three months but did not complete the entire training.*

The median education level for Samoans in Job Corps is 9.6 years for males and 10.1 years for females. The educational level of Samoan females in Job Corps approximates that of the Samoan female population in Hawaii. In contrast, the educational level of Samoan males in Job Corps is almost 1.6 years below the level of the total Samoan male population in Hawaii, indicating that the program is serving comparatively educationally disadvantaged Samoan males. The Hawaii study further showed educational competencies of participants while in Job Corps, measured in "milestones." Samoans, on average, added two grade levels (4.1 "milestones") in reading skills, and departed the program with 11.9 "milestones," or a sixth grade reading level. Four Samoans completed their GED in Job Corps.

Of the 206 Samoans trained in Job Corps 1973-1982, 77 found employment after Job Corps. The Hawaii study concludes that Job Corps has resulted in improved employment for Samoan young people, with the observation that increasing the number of female participants might further improve the situation. Samoan parents are concerned for the welfare of their daughters in the residential Job Corps program, and prefer that they could reside at home.

General Social Services Samoan adults prefer to turn to family and church networks or Samoan community-based organizations as their first resource for social support services. These networks, however, have neither sufficient resources nor professional training or experience in providing services in the context of U.S. life and economy. Samoan participation in local social service programs such as immigrant orientation and adjustment services, mental health counseling, parent programs, and senior citizen programs is closely linked to the presence of Samoans on staff. Community informants and agency personnel state that without Samoans on staff in these programs, local Samoans are unlikely to use these services.

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*Comparative data for termination statuses of other ethnic groups are not available; this information was compiled from individual client records.

On the other hand, mainstream social programs for youth such as community centers and juvenile intervention programs are apparently used by Samoan young people even in the absence of Samoan staff, provided the programs are well publicized and conveniently located.

Study informants and participants in Community Conferences in all sites stressed the need for a central Samoan office or meeting place for distribution of social services. Such a centralized location for services would help overcome information barriers that prevent Samoans from gaining access to the wide range social services provided by cities and counties and would provide an identifiable outreach point for information and referral among service providers working in public and private agencies.

An alternative approach for increasing Samoan participation in social services has recently been initiated by Samoan bilingual staff working in various mainstream education, health, and social service organizations in Hawaii. These professionals have formed a group whose goal is to identify common needs among Hawaii Samoans and implement changes in service provision. This group contends, and Samoan bilingual service providers in San Francisco and Los Angeles agree, that regular communication with other Samoan professionals should be instituted through agency channels.

Models for Programs Providing Services to Samoans

Study field visits to programs in Honolulu, Seattle-Tacoma, the San Francisco Bay area, and the Los Angeles-Long Beach area found a variety of program service models currently in use. Five different approaches to service delivery are presented here in order to suggest the ways in which each can be used to serve at least some Samoans.

Choice of program structure will depend on the particular characteristics of the Samoan population (e.g., English skill levels, educational background, extent of experience in the American labor market); the resources available to the agency and the range of populations it must serve; and specific goals for the program. Generally, programs which do not have Samoan-specific components are more suited for the better educated, English speaking, and non-migrant sectors of the Samoan population, while services that must reach migrants, non-English speakers, and the elderly must be more specifically adapted for the target group. Delivery strategies can also vary according to the ease of access to the potential clients: Samoan school students, for example, appear to be informed about and responsive to programs through their schools and colleges, while non-student youth are very difficult to reach through conventional channels.

In the paragraphs below each of the five models is illustrated by examples from among the programs reviewed for the Study. The examples are representative, but by no means exhaustive. Models for service delivery merit further study before specific recommendations can be made for how to best reach the various segments of the Samoan community.

Model 1: Mainstream programs. Many Samoans receive services from social, employment, and educational service agencies open to the general public or to all qualified or eligible persons. These programs are designed to serve a broad range of clients and usually have no particular strategy for serving Samoan clients. They employ no Samoan staff. Some few make special outreach efforts to the Samoan community.

Their approach appears to be most appropriate for those who possess good written and oral English language skills and who are relatively familiar with American culture. In employment and training areas, such agencies appear to be most effective with Samoans who already possess some work experience, basic job skills, or job training. These programs are most likely to reach Samoans if they are physically located in Samoan neighborhoods or if they work through schools where Samoans are students.

Examples of such programs are most state job service offices, community college job training programs, community college vocational programs, and JTPA programs. Many of these do not appear to be heavily utilized by Samoans, probably due to the absence of Samoan staff. However, the Summer Youth Employment Program is a mainstream program that is utilized by Samoans, regardless of the presence of Samoan staff.

Model 2: Mainstream programs with Samoan staff, but no Samoan-specific program component. Some local programs which do not have components specifically designed for Samoan participants have hired Samoan bilingual staff as a strategy for increasing Samoan participation and providing better services. Bilingual staff help to effect outreach to a larger number of Samoan clients. The Samoan clients then enter the mainstream program with

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language help and/or counseling from the Samoan bilingual staff member, as needed. This model requires little restructuring of program design; expenditures are limited to hiring Samoan staff.

There are numerous examples of this program model. Public assistance programs in Seattle, the San Francisco Bay area, and in Los Angeles use this strategy for delivering services to Samoan clients. Staff of public agencies interviewed during the Study confirmed the desirability of this model, but identified limited funding to hire special staff as the major barrier to implementing it.

They also reported that often intense competition for civil service positions combined with experience and educational requirements for many state and local positions to preclude hiring of Samoans for full-time, regular civil service positions. Specifying that bilingual staff be proficient in the Samoan language is one way in which more Samoan staff were reported hired into civil service positions.

An Employment Development District in Southern California has effectively implemented this model. In a special outreach effort, Samoan staff were hired. Because these Samoan staff were classified as temporary employees, they were not subject to civil service examinations. The experience gained as temporary staff was used to enhance their competitive standing in civil service hiring and one Samoan has successfully been placed in a full-time position.

The Employment Opportunities Center in Seattle also use the bilingual staff model for reaching Samoan clients. This program is a non-profit, community-based employment program primarily serving Asian ethnic groups and offering a range of services such as employment counseling, job orientation training, and job placement. A Samoan staff member was hired when the need for services in the Samoan community became apparent. Both intake and placement of Samoan clients increased significantly during periods when a Samoan was on staff.

Model 3: Samoan-targeted components within mainstream programs. A third strategy for providing services to American Samoans is to create a component specifically for Samoans within a larger program. Outreach and service delivery are oriented toward Samoan needs. A number of agency staff positions and/or training and service slots may be reserved for Samoans.

Examples of this type of program are fewer. These programs tend to be projects specially funded for a limited length of time. The Project Harbor adult training program operated by Los Angeles Unified School District funded by a state CETA contract is an excellent illustration. Project Harbor was operated as a component of an existing training program of the San Pedro Wilmington Skills Center. The program was designed to train Samoans as welders and place them into jobs upon completion of the training. Project Harbor utilized a Samoan coordinator and Samoan certificate instructors along with volunteer Samoan teacher aides. Samoan community leaders acted as an Advisory Group for the project. Outreach and recruitment activities were conducted through established Samoan community networks.

Interviewed for the Study, the director of Project Harbor attributed its success to the dedication and support provided for the project by the volunteer Samoan Community Advisory Group that worked with the Los Angeles Samoan community and assisted the Los Angeles city school board in monitoring its progress. The Advisory Group was organized to reflect native Samoan cultural values and traditional village structure. This structure functioned as a positive control mechanism to promote competitive group cooperation among students. The Advisory Group was composed of a wide representation of village chiefs holding matai titles for their families in the mainland and/or for their kin group in the islands. They worked in close cooperation with various churches, church volunteer groups, and church leaders, fostering successful recruiting, maintaining motivation, and reinforcing appropriate student performance.

The Advisory Group placed three of its members who were retired certified welders on the training site to assist the regular school district instructors. These three Samoan elders were onsite daily for the duration of the project. The Advisory Group met at the training site every other week to share ideas and discuss student progress. The agenda of these meetings included attendance, student homework, tutorial math and English, transportation, counseling and community outreach, certification tests and preparation, graduation requirements, and job placement and follow-up.

Honolulu Catholic Social Services offers another illustration of a Samoan component in a mainstream program. They operate an office in Kalihi Valley Homes, a housing project with a large Samoan population. The branch office is administered by Catholic Social Services and funded primarily by grants from the State of Hawaii. Many staff members and most clientele in the program are

Samoan. Social and mental health services provided by the agencies are focused specifically on Samoan needs. For example, in addition to mental health counseling, the program operates a Samoan parent training group at the site and a second group in Laie that meets regularly to discuss such issues as parenting, education, and employment. Further activities have been generated through these outreach efforts. A chore service group provides temporary employment for several women; a volunteer tutoring program by Samoan college students provides school work help to younger students.

Model 4: Programs within Samoan community-based organizations. Some Samoan service programs are operated entirely within Samoan community-based organizations. These parallel the self-help services that have traditionally been provided by Samoan church and family networks. Many services provided by Samoan organizations are staffed by unpaid Samoan volunteers. A few non-Samoan community-based organizations also operate a variety of programs and services.

Programs operated by the National Office of Samoan Affairs (NOSA), a Samoan community-based organization located in San Francisco, illustrate this model. NOSA has operated both adult and youth employment programs on a contract from the San Francisco PIC, using JTPA funds. These programs have hired bilingual Samoan staff and geared the training and placement components specifically to the needs of the local Samoan community. Program training slots are targeted for local Samoans.

Model 5: Joint ventures between mainstream programs and Samoan organizations. In some cities, specific components of an employment or training program have been contracted out to Samoan organizations. Typically, these might be responsibilities such as intake and outreach for Samoan participants. The benefit of this model is that the community-based organization does not have to bear the heavy capital expenditures of providing the training facility and equipment, yet the community connection fosters participation and bilingual staff help assure participants' success in the training.

One such example is a program operated jointly by the National Office of Samoan Affairs and San Francisco City College. NOSA directed the outreach, recruitment, and pre-employment training components of the project. They then referred Samoans completing the first component to the Hunters Point Skill Center operated by San Francisco City College. At Hunters Point, the Samoan participants received training in several vocational areas including clerical, medical, and computer skills.

Samoan Youth and the Future

Finding 4: Samoan youth are experiencing particular difficulties in school and in accessing the labor market. This problem is especially serious because of its long-term implications for the economic and educational status of the community.

The demographic profile presented in discussion of Finding 2 demonstrates that Samoans in the United States are a young and growing population. Samoan women have high fertility rates relative to other ethnic groups; they have the second highest American fertility rates in the 15-24 age range and the highest fertility rates in the 25-44 age range (Table 10, above). In Hawaii, Samoan fertility rates are even higher than in California. There is no evidence that this trend will change in the near future. At the current rate of growth, even if no further migration from Samoa were to occur, the Samoan population in the United States should double in 23 years (Hayes & Levin, 1983a).

Because of the relative youth and the projected growth of the population, dependency ratios are high.* Overall, every two potential Samoan workers (those aged 15-64) must support 1.4 dependents (children aged 0-14 and persons 65 and older), whereas, in the U.S. population as a whole, every two potential workers support only 1 dependent (1980 U.S. Census). In Hawaii, the burden of support on the working Samoan population is even greater--every two potential Samoan workers have to support about 1.7 dependents. These demographic trends suggest that better paying jobs and increasing rates of employment are required if the Samoan community is to maintain even its current, unacceptably low economic status. Without a significant improvement in the effective utilization of training, employment, education, and social services, Samoan poverty and unemployment cannot be expected to improve.

In a short time, Samoan youth will bear the responsibility for the support of their community. Many capable and ambitious young individuals are upwardly mobile, but Samoan youth do not appear to be progressing in education or employment at the rate necessary to reverse the increasingly grim social and economic prospect for Samoans in the United States.

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*The dependency ratio formula is used to calculate the number of dependents for each potential worker in the population:

$$\frac{\text{Population Aged 0 to 14 years + aged 65 and over}}{\text{Population aged 15-65}} \times 100$$

This section of the Report outlines specific issues relating to the progress of Samoan youth in the schools and in the labor market. It draws on sources similar to those which underlay the discussion of Finding 3, concerning participation by the general Samoan population in poverty, employment, and training programs. Local school, college, and training program attendance and performance data and 1980 U.S. Census findings are supplemented by information from interviews and meetings with service providers and Samoan adults and young people. (See Appendix A for profile of informants.)

Just the Samoan adult population is underrepresented among the clientele of service programs (with the exception of cash assistance; see the preceding section), Samoan youth are not utilizing educational, training, and employment services commensurate with their numbers or their need. This section will first document the educational status of Samoan young people, then explore the factors affecting school attendance and performance, and finally take up work-related issues for Samoan young people.

Samoan Youth in the Schools

Analysis of 1980 U.S. Census data and examination of local school district records indicate that many Samoan young people are failing to complete high school and that school performance of Samoans is below the national norm. The paragraphs immediately below document attendance and performance; those following below then suggest factors affecting Samoan youth's educational success.

School and college enrollment. Table 38 displays 1980 Census data on Samoan school enrollment for the U.S. and the Study site states. The percentage of Samoan children and young people in various age categories is compared to enrollment of the total population. There was a substantial drop in numbers of students enrolled after 17 years of age, especially in California and Hawaii. With the exception of the Washington 7-15 group, a slightly smaller percentage of Samoans under 17 was enrolled in schools than was the case in the general population. At 18-19 years of age, there was a shift in this pattern. In California and Hawaii, slightly more Samoans were enrolled in school (51.1% and 51.9%, respectively) than in the general population (50.5% and 46.9%, respectively). In the United States as a whole, however, somewhat fewer Samoans were enrolled in school (48.3%) than in the general population (52.3%); in Washington Samoans had a substantially lower school enrollment rate (38.7%) in this age category than 18-19 year olds in the state (52.5%).

Table 38

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOANS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES, BY AGE: 1980

Ages	United States		California		Hawaii		Washington	
	Total	Samoan	Total	Samoan	Total	Samoan	Total	Samoan
7-15	98.3	96.7	98.1	97.4	98.7	96.0	98.5	98.8
16-17	88.4	86.4	88.2	85.5	93.4	90.0	88.7	82.5
18-19	52.3	48.3	50.5	51.6	46.9	51.9	52.5	38.7
20-21	32.4	22.3	33.1	21.5	25.6	21.5	30.4	13.6
22-24	17.3	19.5	21.4	19.6	17.5	17.1	17.4	3.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 and Hayes & Levin, 1983(b).

By the 20-21 age group, generally college age, Samoans began to fall further behind the general U.S. population in school enrollment (32.4% U.S. total vs. 22.3% Samoan). The gap was particularly wide in the State of Washington (30.4% general population vs. 13.6% Samoan).

These data should be intrepreted cautiously, since they do not show high school or college completion rates. At age 18 or 19, a student may be either in high school or college.

Table 39 shows that 92.5 percent of all Samoans in high school were enrolled in California, Hawaii and Washington, while only 72.6 percent of all Samoans in college in the U.S. enrolled in these states. Many of the Samoan college enrollees reflected in the 18-24 age category may be students migrating directly from American Samoa high schools or the island's two-year community college to complete their college education in the United States. These data appear to confirm the contentions of Samoan college students and community informants that the 1980 Census figures for Samoan college enrollment are misleadingly high because they include Samoans not previously residing in the United States who are migrating for college only. The percentage of resident Samoans attending college was thus probably significantly lower than the 22.3 percent for the 20-21 year age category shown in Table 38 above.

Table 39 also indicates that a large majority (approximately 94.5%) of Samoan students attended public schools. Considering the youth of the Samoan population and Samoan women's high fertility rates, public schools in Hawaii and impacted areas of California can expect increasing enrollment of Samoan children in coming years.

Table 39

NUMBER OF SAMOANS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES, BY TYPE OF SCHOOL: 1980

	U.S. Total		California		Hawaii		Washington	
	#	% U.S. Total	#	% U.S. Total	#	% U.S. Total	#	% U.S. Total
Nursery School								
Total	504	100.0	229	45.4	165	32.7	26	5.2
Private	189		57		63		16	
Kindergarten								
Total	974	100.0	398	40.9	374	38.4	45	4.6
Private	105		28		49		5	
Elementary (1-8 yrs)								
Total	8,194	100.0	3,899	47.6	3,261	39.8	391	57.2
Private	425		259		129		9	
High School (1-4 yrs)								
Total	3,789	100.0	1,765	46.6	1,590	42.0	148	3.9
Private	321		136		69		—	
College	2,157	100.0	918	42.6	639	29.6	74	3.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981.

High school graduation. The above data demonstrate a decline in Samoan school participation after age 17 and proportionately small numbers of Samoans in college. They indicate little about high school graduation rates. Census data for Samoan high school completion is not yet available for the 19-24 age bracket, however available Census data do show that male Samoans 25 and over had the lowest proportion of male high school graduates of any Asian-Pacific Islander group in Hawaii and California, and that Samoan females 25 and over had the lowest proportion of female high school graduates among Asian and Pacific Islanders in Hawaii and the second lowest (after Guamanians) in California (see Tables 20 and 21, above).

Limited data on Samoan students by grade from the Hawaii Department of Education and from the San Francisco Unified School District were made available for this Study. They attest to a high drop-out rate among Samoan high school students, a problem also identified by the Samoan community. School data show a proportionately greater decline in school enrollment before twelfth grade for Samoans than for state students as a whole. Samoans made up 3.2 percent (5,087) of the state of Hawaii's K-12 enrollment. As of February 29, 1984, 389 Samoan students (3.4%) were attending Hawaii schools in the eleventh grade out of a total of 11,477 students. In the twelfth grade, however, only 315 (2.9 %) of 10,682 students were Samoan. There was a 19 percent drop in the number of Samoan students between grades eleven and twelve, compared to a 6.9 percent drop for the entire school system.

In the Honolulu School District, 6.1 percent of the entire student population is Samoan, easily the district most highly impacted by Samoan students in the United States. There were 31 percent fewer Samoans in twelfth grade (122) in Honolulu than in the eleventh grade (177), contrasting with 8.9 percent fewer students in the twelfth than eleventh grade for the district as a whole. Age distribution data for the Samoan population show that these declines did not reflect corresponding declines in population in those age categories.

The relative youth of the Samoan student population is evident in the distribution in Samoan students of the San Francisco Unified School District. Approximately 604 Samoan students were enrolled in 1983-84, comprising 1.3 percent of all students in elementary school (K-5), 0.8 percent in middle school (6-8) and just 0.6 percent in high school (9-12). In the three high

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schools in the San Francisco United School District with substantial numbers of Samoan students, of Samoan students in high school, 50 percent were in the ninth grade, compared with about 20 percent in the twelfth grade.

Enrollment data obtained from a Southern California school district with a large Samoan population in the student body similarly indicate a trend toward noncompletion. The ratio of Samoan sophomores to seniors was 20 percent lower (.35 to .23) than the ratio of sophomores to seniors in the student body as a whole (.36 to .29).

School achievement. Data gathered for the Study indicate that Samoan students have relatively low achievement levels; this is an issue of grave concern among Samoan community leaders and members interviewed for the Study. Hawaii's is the only State Education Department that records Samoans as an ethnic group in their analyses of test results. Standardized test data for Fall 1982 provided by that department show Samoan students to be falling behind their counterparts at all grade levels tested (Tables 40 and 41).

Table 40 summarizes data on the percentage of students succeeding on the Hawaii State Test of Essential Competencies (HSTEC) which students must pass before graduating. At all grade levels tested, less than 40 percent of Samoan students passed the exam. In grades 11 and 12 Samoans had the lowest percent of students passing the HSTEC of any ethnic group in the state.

Results of the Stanford Achievement Test are given in Table 41. In Fall 1982 the Hawaii State Education Department administered this measurement to grades 4, 6, 8, and 10. Relative to the general student population, Samoan students consistently scored in the lower ranges of the test. Gaps between state and Samoan scores widen in grades 8 and 10.

Available test scores show that Samoan youth in other locales are experiencing problems in school similar to those in Hawaii. Results of Los Angeles Unified School District proficiency tests in reading and math indicate that Samoans generally are not faring as well as the student population as a whole.

About 1.5 times as many Samoan students (8.4% of the student body), failed the reading component of the district-wide proficiency test as did students as a whole. Over twice as many Samoans did not pass the math test as did the school's student body as a whole. The proportion of Samoans not passing the written component was similar to the rate for all students in the school. School counseling personnel regarded the reading and math scores as an

Table 40

HAWAII STATE TEST OF ESSENTIAL COMPETENCIES
STATE SUMMARIES,
Fall 1982

	% Passed	% Failed
Grade 9		
Samoan	37.1	62.9
State Total	72.6	27.4
Grade 10		
Samoan	22.7	77.3
State Total	45.4	54.6
Grade 11		
Samoan	23.8	76.2
State Total	50.0	50.0
Grade 12		
Samoan	35.8	64.2
State Total	59.9	40.1

Source: Excerpted from Hawaii State Department of Education
Report: EDD NIC-F, February 14, 1983.

Table 41

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST
STANINE PROFILE,
SAMOAN AND HAWAII STATE TOTAL SCORES

	Total Reading Stanine*		Total Mathematics Stanine*	
	% Scored 1-5	% Scored 6-9	% Scored 1-5	% Scored 6-9
Grade 4				
Samoan	85.3	14.7	85.9	14.1
State Total	60.0	40.0	59.9	40.2
Grade 6				
Samoan	83.9	16.1	86.3	13.7
State Total	57.7	42.3	55.6	44.4
Grade 8				
Samoan	95.4	4.6	91.2	8.9
State Total	71.2	28.8	60.1	39.9
Grade 10				
Samoan	97.6	2.4	91.4	8.2
State Total	71.1	29.1	63.1	36.9

*May not equal 100% due to rounding
Source: Compiled from Hawaii Department of Education Report: EDD L4A 1982.

Table 42

PERCENT OF 10th AND 11th GRADERS NOT PASSING LOS ANGELES UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT READING, WRITING AND MATH PROFICIENCY TESTS, OCTOBER 1983

	Reading		Writing		Math	
	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans	Total	Samoans
Students not passing test	7.6	11.2	5.6	4.1	12.7	29.6

Source: Test data from Carson High School, Los Angeles Unified School District, October, 1983.

objective measure of Samoan student competency. However, they questioned writing tests results because of the small number of Samoans in the category and the relative "subjectivity" of the writing component compared to the other two measures.

These data confirm perceptions of teachers, students, and parents in all four site communities that Samoan young people are experiencing difficulties in school. Better education for children is consistently identified by Samoan migrants as a major reason for coming to the United States. However, school teachers, counselors, bilingual aides, and students alike concur that, although many Samoan students are keeping up with their peers academically and often excell athletically, a substantial segment of the Samoan student population is experiencing academic and social problems.

Enrollment figures indicate that many Samoan youth are dropping out or attending irregularly. For example, in one Southern California high school, during the first semester of the 1983-84 school year, out of 65 Samoan students, only 37 percent earned a "C" or better grade point average. Sixty-three percent of the Samoan students failed at least one major academic subject and 50 percent failed two classes. Furthermore, absenteeism among Samoans at this school was constantly high. A significant number of the Samoan students who do graduate will be unprepared to enter college or the work force.

Factors Affecting School Performance

Teachers and counselors, both Samoan and non-Samoan, and Samoan community members cite a number of factors affecting Samoan academic achievement in American schools.

Poverty. Social and economic status has been found to be highly correlated to high school drop-out rates among adolescents generally. American students of low socioeconomic status have higher rates of drop-out (17.8 %) than those of middle (9.6 %) or high status (7.0%) (National Center for Educational Statistics, cited in Education Daily, December 3, 1983). A large proportion of Samoan students are members of households in poverty. Seui (1983) notes that many of the problems leading to Samoan academic difficulties and failure to complete school may stem less from being ethnically Samoan, than from factors relating to their low social and economic level.

English language proficiency. Some, but not all, Samoan young people experience significant problems with language in monolingual English schools. Table 43 summarizes relevant 1980 U.S. Census data (based on self-identification of English ability) for Samoans aged 5-17 years, approximately school age.

Table 43

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH SPEAKING ABILITIES AMONG SAMOANS AGES 5 TO 17 IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES: 1980

	Speaks Only English At Home	Speaks Other Language At Home	
		Speaks English Well or Very Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All
Percent of Persons in:			
United States	45.3	48.5	6.2
California	42.8	51.3	5.9
Hawaii	38.1	54.4	7.5

Source: Unpublished tabulations, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984.

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Note that many Samoan young people speak only English at home--42.4 percent in California and 38.1 percent in Hawaii--and that almost half of this age group speaks both Samoan and English. Nevertheless, a substantial number of children in this age group (6.1 %) speaks English not well or not at all.

Table 44 documents limited English ability among Samoan students enrolled in school at the time of the 1980 Census. Approximately 7.2 percent of Samoan elementary children and 7.1 percent of high school students were identified as speaking English not well or not at all. In the state of California there were 387 children in school in 1980 whose English language ability was very limited by Census definitions: in Hawaii the Census found 444 Samoan students with little or no English language ability.

Table 44

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SAMOANS WITH LIMITED ENGLISH ABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED STATES, BY TYPE OF SCHOOL: 1980

Type of School	United States	California	Hawaii
Elementary	7.2	5.7	9.5
High School	7.1	8.0	6.7

Source: Unpublished tabulations, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1984.

Limited English proficiency is defined differently by school districts, since Census language data do not necessarily reflect functional competence in English for school. Although Samoans comprise only 3.4 percent of the Hawaii school population, Samoans represent the second largest limited English proficient group in the state school system. Shore and Platt (1984) report that, in the Seattle School District and Los Angeles Unified School District, Samoan students may have possessed greater oral English skills than they did reading and writing skills. Because reading and writing are the primary skills used to evaluate academic performance, language tests may not reflect Samoan students' actual English language ability. These findings were supported in interviews with Samoan and non-Samoan educators who agreed that knowledge of English is not a primary factor in failure in school.

Lack of Samoan staff. Samoan adult role models are scarce. There are very few Samoan teachers in American schools. According to a State of Hawaii Department of Education administrator, only 15 fully accredited and qualified Samoan teachers are employed in Hawaii public schools (0.2% of all teachers compared to at least 1.5% Samoan in population in Hawaii), and 3.2 percent of the school population. There are a few nonprofessional staff, including paraprofessional aides and school guards who are Samoan. Hawaii offers bilingual instruction in pre-school and high school, but not in elementary or middle school. In one Southern California school, Samoan students have been assigned to a bilingual program in which there are no Samoan-speaking staff, a completely inappropriate placement. Participants in Community Conferences identified a pressing need for more full-time, permanent Samoan staff in public schools.

Cultural differences. Throughout the United States, of 14,902 school-aged Samoans (5-19 years), 57.9 percent were born in the U.S., and 42.1 percent born in Western or American Samoa. In California, 61.8 percent were born in the United States. In Hawaii only about one-half of Samoans (50.2%) were born in the United States. These figures indicate a strongly bicultural student population. Furthermore, regardless of place of birth, Samoan young people straddle two cultures. The strong culture of the Samoan home and the culture of the American school give conflicting messages to Samoan youth in many areas of behavior.

The bicultural context manifests itself in a number of ways. Many scholars (e.g., Mead, 1969; Seui, 1983; Shore & Platt 1984), have documented patterns of behavior among Samoan children which are appropriate in the homes, but inappropriate at school. And, conversely, patterns of behavior learned at school that are inappropriate within their family settings. These differences cause confusion and conflict both at home and at school. For example, newly arrived Samoan students may appear to their American teachers to be shy or uncooperative. From a Samoan point of reference, their behaviors are highly correct--neither "showing off" in front of adults nor incurring shame by responding incorrectly. Whereas creativity, competition, individual response and individual problem solving are encouraged at American schools, experiential learning, group problem solving, and learning by exact rote are stressed in the Samoan home and church (Seui, 1983). Adolescents who choose an inappropriate response for either context may find themselves in familial conflict or in academic and social difficulty. In Samoan families, all siblings have important responsibilities for care of younger brothers and sisters. These duties, combined with crowded housing conditions may make it difficult for Samoan students to study at home.

Migration also interrupts many Samoan school children's education. Approximately 47 percent of Samoans enumerated in the 1980 U.S. Census reported a different residence in 1975. Almost a quarter lived in a different state or abroad (i.e., Samoa) five years previous to the Census.

Teacher and parent orientation. Teachers in school systems serving major Samoan settlements reported to Study staff that little in-service training on Samoan culture is available to them. They indicated a need and desire for more information on Samoans. Samoan parents are likewise lacking information about American schools. Often they are unfamiliar with American school systems, grading procedures, and the school's expectations for their children. Many reported that they are reluctant to approach teachers because of language barriers.

Samoan parent involvement in their children's educations has begun to be encouraged in some schools. A parent advisory board for the State of Hawaii Bilingual/Bicultural program has been mandated and small parent-training groups are provided through local social service agencies. Evidence from group meetings and family interviews for this Study suggest, however, that a large gap in understanding still exists between Samoan parents and American schools. Participants in all four Community Conferences strongly voiced the need for Samoan parent involvement and training in education. Informants and Conference participants in Hawaii expressed the additional concern that negative stereotypes of Samoans which hinder Samoans in the workplace may also affect school and teacher attitudes toward Samoan students, hindering their academic and social achievement.

In all Study sites, Samoan church and community leaders voiced concerns about juvenile crime and drug use. Although these latter problems are beyond the scope of the present study, they merit further investigation of their relation to employment, training and educational problems.

Samoan Youth and Work

Youth unemployment is a complex problem which has a strong impact on all disadvantaged populations. Among Samoans, with their high unemployment rates, lack of training for the U.S. labor market, and large proportions of young people lacking adequate education, the situation is especially severe. In 1980, 21 percent of Samoans in the labor force between the ages of 16 and 19 were unemployed (U.S. Census, 1980). In California the rate was 30 percent—double the California average for this age group. In Hawaii 19 percent of Samoan youth were unemployed at that time, double the statewide rate for the age group. (See Table 20, above.)

A December 1978 State of Hawaii report, "Hawaii's Youth in the Labor Force," found that, in April 1975, unemployment among Samoan youth was the highest of any ethnic group in Hawaii—79.3 percent—compared to the general population's rate of 26.5 percent. Among the 20-24 year group, Samoan unemployment was second highest at 21.2 percent compared to 12.2 percent for all groups. As this Hawaii youth employment report indicates, Samoan youth unemployment must not be viewed in isolation, but in a relation to other problems experienced by disadvantaged young people:

> In general, youth who are disadvantaged in the job market tend to be disadvantaged in other areas; they often have low educational attainment and achievement, are emotionally troubled, present disciplinary problems (have higher than average school suspension rates) and lack social skills. (p. 43)

The following statements of some of the Samoan young people regarding their experiences in seeking employment reveal the difficulties they face. A young man, a high school graduate with some college, who migrated from Samoa in 1978 told study staff:

> Just being Samoan is a problem in finding work. I can't get a job here in Hawaii; the kind of jobs they give me are always low level work. I can't go back to Samoa because there are no jobs for us there. For those who have not graduated from college, there is nothing there.

A 19-year-old girl commented:

> Wherever I go, as soon as I tell them I am Samoan, they step back. They are pretty nice until you tell them you are Samoan.

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A young U.S. Army veteran reported:

> I can't find any good paying jobs. I am a veteran. I have applied for several jobs, but nothing comes through yet. I was in the Army for three years. Like many young Samoans, we are always in artillery training. When we come out, we can't find work with that type of training.

An 18-year-old high school drop-out living with his mother, an unemployed head of household, stated:

> It would be nice to have some kind of training that would teach me skills. I dropped out of school and have no skills. I look for work, but no more jobs. They can not hire me.

School counselors and some students themselves reported that many Samoan young people, especially those from lower income Samoan families, lack goal orientation or even awareness of career possibilities open to them in the United States. School counselors reported that Samoan youth experience real feelings of hopelessness after high school. They are unfamiliar with the steps necessary to obtain jobs or pursue careers and they lack role models. These youth often expressed career preferences for jobs their parents hold, or for the military. Low-income youth are unable to turn to parents for guidance since the job market often is equally inaccessible and unfamiliar to their elders.

Youth employment and training programs, such as the Student Youth Employment Program and Job Corps, appear to be utilized by Samoan young people. These programs provide a verifiable work experience for many youth for whom barriers to obtaining first employment are particularly high, but they are only one step in the direction of improved employment opportunities for Samoan young people. In Samoan youth meetings held for this Study, young people indicated that Summer Youth programs which gave them experience in jobs they were interested in pursuing later were the most valuable to them, but that few had had such opportunities. As one unemployed young person who had participated in a Youth Employment Program as a recreational aide stated to Study staff, "Summer youth jobs with training in those menial jobs are no training. It is just closing jobs for Samoans. But if it's an office job, it opens the mind."

Samoan young people are largely uninformed about other options for training and employment assistance, such as apprenticeship programs and private and public vocational training centers outside of high schools. They are also not aware of the variety of vocational training opportunities available when they enlist in the armed forces.

For both young migrants from Samoa and Samoan youth born in the United States, socioeconomic disadvantages and educational and employment difficulties point toward a continuing and growing need for services among Samoans in the United States. The following chapters suggest ways in which these needs might be met.

IV

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter of the Report presents two major policy recommendations for Congress following from the major findings of the Study. Programmatic recommendations are made in the next chapter. As noted in previous chapters, the findings and recommendations presented in this Report have been reviewed and approved by members of the Study's Advisory Board and by participants in the three local Community Conferences.

Findings about the unique socioeconomic situation of American Samoans in the United States, their needs, and the services currently available, indicate a clear need for intervention. Findings obtained from all phases of the Study of Unemployment, Poverty and Training Needs of American Samoans reinforce this contention. American Samoans residing in the United States have special, unmet needs. The projected future situation of the population indicates that this rapidly growing population of will continue to be at risk.

Furthermore it appears that current and future needs of American Samoans cannot be met by existing service delivery systems. Based on the United States' historical obligation to American Samoans, federal intervention is an essential and appropriate remedy for the unique problems faced by American Samoans living in the United States.

The Need for Federal Intervention

Current Needs

The special difficulties faced by American Samoans residing in the United States set them apart from other populations in the United States. They exhibit problems in dimensions beyond those generally associated with other impoverished populations in the United States. According to most indicators, however, the magnitude of problems facing American Samoans is greater than that encountered by other disadvantaged groups. Compared to other groups in the United States, they are at greater risk of living in poverty and/or experiencing higher rates of unemployment and educational deprivation.

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The findings detailed in the previous chapter have demonstrated that high proportions of Samoans live in poverty. In 1980 they exhibited the lowest per capita incomes of any enumerated Census group. Large families and the proportion of dependents to potential wage earners result in a disproportionate number of Samoans relying on public assistance. Samoans have the lowest high school completion rates among Asian and Pacific Islander groups and college graduation rates are one-third those of the general U.S. population. Nor have Samoans been able to obtain equal access to the labor market; a disproportionate number are unemployed. Further, those Samoans who are employed are found overwhelmingly in low status occupations. The effects of poverty and unemployment are compounded through many Samoans' significant problems in using the English language effectively.

Samoans in the United States experience a number of barriers to employment that make it particularly difficult for them to participate effectively in local labor markets. Structural barriers to employment are compounded by cultural and environmental factors.

Like other groups in the United States, Samoans' employment is affected by national and local unemployment rates, competition within sectors of the labor market, and educational and certification requirements. Relatively low levels of educational attainment and English language proficiency exacerbate the difficulties for Samoans seeking employment. Problems associated with lack of experience and training appropriate to the U.S. job market, poor job search skills, and ineffective program designs have the multiplicative effect of precluding Samoans from gaining access to most current employment and job training services.

Many Samoans lack information or are misinformed about occupations and industries in which employment opportunities may exist. Many--and especially the large numbers of young people--come to the job market without any significant work experience. Their job-seeking skills are limited, as is their knowledge of employers' expectations for employees or about appropriate employee behavior. These factors can further exacerbate the discrimination that Samoans face in some locales.

Future Needs

Study data demonstrate that the problems currently exhibited by Samoans will continue into the future. Demographic factors--a relatively young population, continuing to experience high birth rates--indicate that the proportion of wage earners to dependents will remain low in future years. This, in turn, affects the future incidence of poverty. Findings from the Study indicate that Samoans are not making dramatic in-roads into local labor markets. As a consequence, it seems that the disproportionately high levels of poverty are likely to continue.

Samoan community leaders and parents, educators, and social service providers all report that Samoan youth are not generally successful in U.S. schools. Available data indicate that they experience high truancy and academic failure rates and drop out from school in appreciable numbers. Unemployment among young Samoans is twice the rate for youth in the United States as a whole.

Competition in local labor markets where Samoans reside will remain high. Other migrant groups are represented in high numbers in California and Hawaii with whom Samoans, in smaller numbers and with more limited networks and influence, will have to vie for even low status and low paying jobs.

Unless young Samoans receive sufficient training and education, they will remain at a disadvantage in labor markets that are becoming increasingly competitive. Unfortunately, the evidence indicates that they do not or cannot effectively utilize existing employment and job training resources.

Implications for Service Delivery

The available evidence indicates that the present and future needs of Samoans residing in the United States cannot be effectively met by existing services. Chapter III of this Report documents the failure of many existing programs to gear services to the present or future needs of Samoans.

Samoans are a numerically small population. In all locales where they reside, Samoans constitute only a small proportion of the population, accounting for 0.2 percent, 1.5 percent, and 0.1 percent of the California, Hawaii, and Washington populations, respectively. In most cases, data specific to Samoans have not been kept. They are frequently subsumed under the category "Asian and Pacific Islander," a practice which can effectively mask the pressing needs of American Samoans because of the relatively higher social and economic status achieved by far more numerous Asian and Pacific Island groups.

Samoans tend simply to be overlooked, since they do not appear in sufficient numbers among clients of any agency to make their opinions felt. Special programs for Samoans, if implemented at all, are dropped before other budget priorities. The relatively small size of the population and scarcity of Samoan-specific data make the target population "invisible" in many cases and negatively affect program design and operations.

The Study found that personnel in existing services and programs know little about the unique aspects of Samoan culture and tradition. Research indicates that there have been few outreach efforts, and only isolated attempts to hire Samoan program staff or to increase Samoan participation in programs. In part due to these failures, local Samoan communities lack knowledge about the range of existing services. Consequently, Samoan participation in many existing intervention programs is low.

Only a small number of Samoan community-based agencies and organizations either provide services or act as advocates for the needs of American Samoans in their locale. Since these community-based organizations are relatively new, they do not have stable funding bases. They have suffered as cut-backs in available funding have increased competition for existing resources. Other, more established programs and agencies have higher probabilities of securing continuous funding. The resulting instability of funding interrupts the continuity of programs local Samoan community agencies can provide.

Statutory Recognition of American Samoans in the United States

Recommendation 1: To assure a sustained, long-term programmatic focus on the needs of American Samoans living in the United States, statutory recognition of their special history and needs is required at the federal level.

Responsibility for protecting the people of American Samoa, their culture, and their ways of life has been emphasized from the outset of American Samoan-United States relations and continues unaltered to the present. A long line of historical precedents--policies designed to protect the American Samoan--has testified to the United States' commitment to maintenance of its trust responsibilities to Samoans.

The historical responsibility of the United States for American Samoa is based on both law and custom. In 1834 the United States joined with Great Britain and Germany in exercising authority over Samoa and 15 years later accepted sole "rights" to the eastern Samoan islands (Leibowitz 1980:227-229). In 1929, the Congress, by joint resolution, officially recognized the 1900 and 1904 territorial accessions by the chiefs. American Samoa became an unincorporated territory of the United States and its residents were afforded the status of United States nationals. That joint resolution, vesting all power over American Samoa in the President of the United States, remains in force today. (Senate Joint Resolution 110, 70th Congress, 2nd Sess., 45 Stat. 1253, 1929). (See more detailed discussion in Chapter II.) In order for the United States government to meet its historic responsibility toward Samoans who have come to reside in the United States, the Study recommends that statutory recognition of American Samoans be granted at the federal level.

Findings of this Study indicate that actions must be taken to meet the unique needs of American Samoans residing in the United States. Samoans living in the United States are clearly at greater risk of social and economic disadvantage than other groups. They are experiencing high incidence of poverty, unemployment, and educational deprivation. There are strong indications that these difficulties will continue into the future and that existing programs cannot meet their current or projected future needs. Furthermore, the United States government has an obligation to these people that is based on long-standing historical and legal precedent.

Implications of Statutory Recognition

Statutory recognition by Congress to American Samoans residing in the United States would be a critical first step in addressing the severe problems experienced by Samoans in the United States. Statutory recognition would serve as a catalyst to focus attention on the Samoans' plight. Once statutory recognition is achieved, a number of other events could systematically follow.

Most importantly, the current invisibility of American Samoans would diminish. Samoans would become visible as programs began to keep records on the number of Samoans served and service utilization could then be analyzed

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accurately. Once service utilization patterns are established, necessary changes in service delivery systems could be made to ensure adequate participation.

A second consequence of statutory recognition would be the design of programs to meet needs of local Samoan communities. As mainstream employment, training, and social services programs became aware of the needs of Samoans, service delivery systems could be adapted to meet those unique needs. Also, statutory recognition, and attendant funding, would increase the number of programs designed specifically for Samoans. It is also anticipated the number of bilingual Samoan professionals would increase as a result of these programs.

Granting statutory recognition to American Samoans living in the United States helps Congress fulfill its historical and legal obligation toward American Samoans. Statutory recognition would mean the continuation of the United States exercise of its trustee role for American Samoans, a role formalized by treaty between the two nations.

Set-Asides Under Job Training Partnership Act

Recommendation 2: JTPA set-asides for American Samoans are needed for both existing programs and to encourage the development of Samoan-specific programs as well.

The second major policy recommendation is based on Study conclusions related to the particular needs for job training and related employment services among Samoans residing in the United States. This policy recommends that set-asides under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) be granted for American Samoans. These set-asides should constitute a new fund, not a further division of existing Title IV monies.

Study findings from all sources indicate that current employment and job training programs are not meeting the needs of local Samoan communities in the United States. There is strong consensus among Samoan communities and staff of employment and training programs that, as presently implemented, local programs funded under JTPA do not meet the needs of the majority of eligible Samoans living in the United States.

A number of factors specified in the design of the Act and aspects of various local program designs prevent sizeable numbers of Samoans from participating in JTPA-funded programs in their communities. Training program operators, for example, voiced the opinion that fixed cost contracting and lack of stipends resulted in fewer Samoans receiving services under the Act.

Implications of JTPA Set-Asides

Once American Samoans in the United States receive statutory recognition, they could become eligible for the Native American set-asides under the Job Training Partnership Act. Set-asides would serve to focus attention on the high unemployment rates experienced by Samoans as well as their lower rates of participation in existing employment and training programs funded under JTPA.

JTPA set-asides would require employment and job training programs to examine Samoan needs. Due to this enhanced visibility, employment and training programs would begin to track Samoans receiving services. Once Samoans' utilization of programs is tracked, changes in program structure can be made that improve program participation and outcomes as needed.

It is anticipated that set-asides also would result in the development of efforts aimed directly at eliminating many of the barriers to employment Samoans currently face. There is general consensus among Study participants that set-asides under Title IV of the JTPA would increase the number of Samoans served by existing employment and training programs as well as facilitate development of programs designed specifically for Samoans. This opinion is held by members of the Study's Advisory Board, local Samoan community leaders, local service delivery personnel, and many others knowledgeable about employment and training programs in areas where Samoans reside. (See Appendix A for participant profiles.) As is the case in existing Title IV programs, performance criteria, goals, and program designs can be developed that are appropriate for the Samoan population.

If American Samoans become eligible to receive JTPA set-asides it is expected that Samoan community-based organizations would have more impact on the design of local employment and training programs. In some cases, these Samoan organizations may operate programs specifically designed for Samoans; in other cases they may work jointly with other mainstream employment and training programs funded under JTPA. Samoan community-based organizations could make a critical contribution through their understanding of Samoan ways. Knowledge of Samoan culture and traditions could be used in the design of programs to enhance the Samoan participation in these programs and the outcomes of their participation. Currently, few employment and training programs are aware of the Samoan culture and traditions; even fewer programs try to accommodate these differences when they attempt to serve Samoans. It is expected the JTPA set-asides will help remedy this problem.

Legal Requirements for Statutory Recognition

The Library of Congress has rendered an opinion on the constitutionality of statutory recognition for American Samoans (memorandum dated June 7, 1982 from American Law Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress). This opinion is summarized here. It appears that the federal courts would uphold the constitutionality of Congress granting statutory recognition to American Samoans residing in the United States. This legal opinion holds that statutory recognition for American Samoans, similar to the status granted American Indians, Alaska natives, or Native Hawaiians would be within Congress' power.

Both statutory recognition, e.g., Native American status, and set-asides under JTPA appear to be legal, as long as Congress addresses the standards of case law related to Federal Indian law. The legislative history must state the reasons for actions chosen by Congress. The following cases defined applicable standards: *Morton* v. *Mancari*--417 U.S. 535 (1974); *Delaware Tribal Business Commission*--437 U.S. 73, (1977); *Worcester* v. *Georgia*--31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515 (1832); *U.S.* v. *Kigama*--118 U.S. 875 (1886); and *Board of County Commissioners* v. *Seber*--318 U.S. 705, 715 (1943).

Morton v. *Mancari* and *Delaware Tribal Business Commission* decisions affirm that treatment of Indians does not violate the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. *Worcester* v. *Georgia* and *U.S.* v. *Kagama* define Federal trust obligations. *Board of County Commissioners* v. *Seber* defines federal and tribal historical roles that could apply to legislation for American Samoans.

Morton v. *Mancari* set the standards by which courts should judge statutes granting special treatment to Indians. The standard specifies that affording special status to American Samoans is permissible, ". . . as long as the special treatment can be tied to the fulfillment of Congress' unique obligation toward the Indians. . . ." This standard requires that Congress, when legislating in Indian (or American Samoan) affairs and exercising its trust responsibility, should determine that Indian (American Samoan) interests will be protected by the legislation in question.

Following Morton v. Mancari and related cases, Congress is enabled to grant special status to American Samoans. The courts can be expected to uphold the legislation, provided it is tied rationally to the unique obligation of the U.S. toward its American Samoan trustees.

Any statutory recognition for American Samoans residing in the United States (e.g., Native American status* or JPTA set-asides) must apply both in Hawaii and the United States mainland. Due to the circular migration patterns among American Samoans in the United States, the continuity of services would be interrupted if American Samoans only in Hawaii or only in the continental United States were singled out for statutory recognition. Whereas statutory recognition for Native Hawaiians was afforded only to residents of Hawaii, a consensus exists among Samoans, educators and service providers that all American Samoans residing throughout the United States be granted statutory recognition.

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*Alaska Natives were recognized as wards under guardianship of the United States in Alaska Pacific Fisheries v. United States, 248, U.S. 78 (1918). Native Hawaiians received recognition in the Headstart Economic Opportunity, and Community Partnership Act of 1974 (Public L. 93-644, 88 Stat. 2291, 93d Cong., 2nd Sess.), and the Native American Programs Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 2324).

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V

PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the four major findings discussed in Chapter III and related to the policy recommendations presented in Chapter IV, the Study makes four recommendations for program development designed to address the problems of poverty, unemployment, and lack of training among Samoans in the United States. These programmatic recommendations should be of interest to government policy makers and program providers at all levels.

These four recommendations have been discussed by officials, service agency representatives, and Samoan participants at the three Community Conferences held in the site communities and approved by the Study's Advisory Board.

Use of Census Data

Recommendation 1: Any programmatic decisions based on 1980 U.S. Census count should take into account Finding 1 of this report, that there is evidence of substantial undercount of Samoans. The Samoan community should be involved in the planning of future Censuses.

Samoans were officially enumerated as a separate Census group for the first time in the 1980 U.S. Census. From the beginning of this Study, the Samoan community expressed concern that the 1980 Census missed large numbers of Samoans, citing language problems, misunderstanding of the purpose of the Census, and the highly mobile nature of the Samoan population. This Study's evaluation of the 1980 Census found evidence that 10 to 17 percent of Samoans in the U.S. may not have been enumerated. While not as high as the undercount estimated by Samoans in the site communities, it is nevertheless substantial. Community leaders argue that undercounts were especially large in locales of major Samoan settlement, the very areas where they are most in need of services.

This Study has used 1980 Census data to demonstrate socioeconomic trends and levels of need among the Samoans in the United States. Because of internal validity checks of the data on those Samoans enumerated, Advisory Board members and Community Conference representatives agreed that, although the Census may not reflect the precise magnitude of need in absolute terms, these data accurately reflect the areas of relative disadvantage experienced by Samoans in the United States.

Only when the 1990 Census data are tabulated can the actual extent of any 1980 undercount of Samoans be determined statistically. Until that time, however, 1980 Census data are likely to be used by policymakers and program planners to make decisions about allocation of resources and service design for Samoans. The possible undercount should be taken into consideration in these decisions.

Compared to the general population and most selected groups, the 1980 Census found Samoans had high incidence of poverty, low per capita income, high dependence on public assistance, high unemployment, and employment in jobs with low pay and mobility, indicating that Samoans are eligible for a wide variety of services. These Census data can appropriately be used as a basis for decisions about types of services and programs and the specific segments of the Samoan population most in need of specific services. However, if absolute Census figures are used by publically-funded programs such as JTPA and employment services programs to estimate the number of individuals to be served, and to therefore allocate resources, Samoans may be unfairly disadvantaged. Service delivery plans based on 1980 Census figures may not accurately reflect the actual numbers of Samoans living in specific communities, nor their proportion in the population.

An additional uncertainty in the numerical data pertaining to Samoans in the United States is continuing migration from American Samoa to Hawaii and the mainland. These unpredictable influxes combined with high fertility rates among Samoan women make population counts quickly obsolete, if not unreliable.

The communities' contention that Samoans were undercounted in 1980 has already begun to create concern that the 1990 Census will replicate a survey in which the Samoan community does not have confidence. To avert such problems, future Censuses should be planned in conjunction with Samoan community leaders, involving respected representatives in the planning process, information dissemination, and execution phases of the survey.

Program Planning and Design

Recommendation 2: Programs should draw more effectively on Samoan culture and use Samoan staff more widely in providing training and services for American Samoans, both in programs serving the general population that have Samoans among their potential clients, and in programs that primarily serve Samoans. The specific needs of local Samoan communities should be considered in planning the nature and scope of services and in choosing a model for service delivery.

Samoan Access to Services

This Report has presented evidence demonstrating that Samoans are not utilizing social, employment, or training programs designed for the general public at a level proportionate to their need for these services. Samoan-specific programs or program components, particularly with respect to focus on employment and job training, are scarce and subject to vicissitudes in funding. Few mainstream programs are making the special outreach efforts necessary to recruit Samoans into their programs. Because of their unique cultural, educational and employment background, programs designed for other minority populations are rarely appropriate for Samoans.

Most programs in impacted locales do not measure either Samoan participation in their programs of their success. Thus they cannot assess the need for Samoan-focused services or Samoan staff because no reliable records indicate the level of Samoan participation or interest.

Use of Samoan Bilingual Staff and Samoan Culture

Programs which do employ Samoan paid or volunteer bilingual staff experience substantially higher levels of Samoan participation than those which do not employ Samoan staff. Study research found indications that not only do programs which employ Samoan staff and consider Samoan culture in program design attract more Samoans, but they are more effective with their Samoan clients. For example, greatest success in actually placing Samoans on the job was reported by bilingual employment programs.

Service programs should draw more effectively on Samoan culture, use Samoan community networks, and employ Samoan staff if they are to affect outreach to Samoans. Programs serving a general population that includes Samoans should consider implementing Samoan-oriented components. The few programs primarily serving Samoan populations cannot meet the existing needs.

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Community Conference participants suggest, further, that if Samoan community members actively participate in all phases of program design and implementation, it will ensure that Samoans are informed about and support the programs.

Need For a Variety of Service Models

While the socioeconomic indicators suggest that, on the whole, Samoans experience severe unemployment and poverty, the degree to which given individuals share in these experiences may vary substantially. English language proficiency varies widely among Samoans in the United States, as does familiarity with American culture and social behavior. Language constitutes a substantial barrier to employment among older Samoans and new arrivals; younger Samoans are likely to have a higher level of English proficiency. Depth of socioeconomic disadvantage also differs by family and by locale. Samoans in Hawaii experience higher levels of poverty and unemployment than those in California. Discrimination is seldom identified as a major problem in California or Washington, but is reported by the Samoan community in Hawaii as one of the strongest barriers to employment.

Because of these variations in the Samoan population and in the service context, no one model for service delivery can be recommended for the Samoan population as a whole. Rather, models should be chosen based on program goals and resources and the needs of program clientele. For example, Samoans with some previous work experience and proficiency in English can take advantage of mainstream employment and training programs even when no Samoan-specific services are provided. Samoan-specific programs, on the other hand, are better able to address the needs of individuals--especially recent migrants--who need cultural orientation before entering mainstream programs or the American workplace. The unique bicultural position of the growing cohort of young Samoans and their difficulties in American public schools and in accessing their local labor markets suggest that programs targeted specifically toward youth may be especially needed.

The variety of service delivery models described in the concluding section of Chapter III, above, demonstrates that there are several strategies through which skill and training services can be extended to the Samoan population. Vehicles are already in place in the impacted locales which can be adapted to meet the needs of Samoan youth and adults.

Community Cooperation

Creation of new programs, especially training programs requiring a large investment for equipment or facilities, may be impractical where the Samoan client populations is relatively small. Joint ventures between mainstream programs and Samoan programs which distribute various service components among agencies most able to deliver the services offer an efficient and effective means for service delivery. In-kind contributions of office space to Samoan organizations by local multi-service centers and public agencies and subcontracting outreach and referral services to Samoan organizations for JTPA training programs are examples of creative options found during the Study.

Samoan multiservice centers might be created in locales with larger populations. Such centers could provide direct services as well as centralized outreach, information, and referral for the mainstream programs most suited to Samoan needs.

When local community leaders participate in planning and development of service programs, the external delivery systems work in coordination with community structures, rather than in opposition to or competition with them. By reinforcing the respect and authority of traditional Samoan leaders, community-designed service programs contribute to integrity of family and kinship networks, an especially key problem with respect to Samoan bicultural youth.

Community and School Linkages

Recommendation 3: Educational policy makers must work to strengthen linkages between American schools and training programs and Samoan communities. Model parent orientation programs should be developed that foster better understanding among Samoan parents of the expectations of American educational institutions. In-service training focusing on Samoan sociology and culture should be made available to staff in school districts and programs in which Samoan youth are enrolled.

Samoan young people are having difficulties in American schools. They have higher than average drop out and failure rates. School teachers, training program instructors, counselors, administrators, and Samoan parents all argue that isolation of the schools from the communities contributes to these problems. Information and understanding is urgently needed by parents and school personnel alike. Samoan parents are unfamiliar with attendance and grading policies, course options, and school activities. Language problems may compound parents' insufficient knowledge of channels for communicating with administrators and teachers. The scarcity of American Samoan personnel in the schools makes communication between parents and schools difficult. Culturally appropriate behavior for youth differ widely from the home to the school environment, causing familial as well as academic stresses.

Samoan youth would benefit if school personnel were informed about Samoan history and culture. Teachers and counselors should be aware of values and behaviors emphasized in the home that are not congruent with the expecations for behavior at school. Teachers of American Samoan students rarely comprehend the conflicting messages Samoan youth may recieve. Teachers interviewed for this Study expressed interest in learning about their Samoan students, but only in rare instances was in-service training on Samoa or Samoan Americans available to them.

Lack of communication between schools and Samoan communitities has fostered mistrust and misinformation about American schools on the part of Samoan parents and children and misunderstanding and negative sterotyping of Samoan children on the part of school personnel.

Both schools and communities are confident that these problems can be solved if concrete, mutually-agreed-upon programs for information and understanding are developed. The few existing school-community cooperation programs can serve as models for these efforts. The success of these projects will depend in part on availability of more systematic information on Samoan students' academic and social difficulties, so that problem areas can be more clearly identified and academically and culturally appropriate solutions developed.

Many aspects of these educational needs lie outside the purview of the Department of Labor, nevertheless they are inextricably tied to improvement in employment status and urgently require attention.

Education and Work Linkages

Recommendation 4: Closer ties between education and work settings need to be fostered for Samoan youth in the United States. Exemplary programs should be developed which link development of career awareness and vocational training in secondary schools. The labor needs of local employers should be considered in programs fostering skills development and job awareness among Samoan youth.

Samoan youth in the U.S. have difficulty gaining access to local labor markets, typically experiencing higher rates of unemployment than youth of other groups. Because the Samoans living in the United States and Hawaii are a very young and rapidly growing population, youth employment problems can be expected to grow unless intervention is undertaken. Samoans will continue to support more individuals per working person than the average for the general American public. These factors combine to make youth employment a crucial component to future social and economic progress for the Samoan communities in the United States.

Many Samoan youth leave high school unprepared to enter the labor force. These young people lack marketable skills, knowledge of the local job market, and job search strategies. Although culturally-related employment barriers such as language facility are not as strong for younger pople as for their elders, youth appear to experience employment discrimination even more intensely than older adults.

Efforts to draw deeper ties between schools and work settings must be carefully designed with the cooperation of the Samoan community so that they draw on these young people's unique skills and perspectives as well as promoting skills appropriate for the projected local labor market. Demonstration programs which link career awareness and vocational training in secondary schools with the labor market of local employers should be initiated.

Samoan youth are not participating in proportional numbers in apprenticeship programs and community college training programs. Although Samoans make use of some youth employment programs, especially Summer Youth Employment, existing public and school programs appear insufficient either to alleviate immediate problems of high youth unemployment among Samoans, or to address the serious need for improved job opportunities for Samoan youth in

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the American workplace over the longer term. The prerequisites of some of these programs, especially the current JTPA programs, militate against participation by Samoan youth, many of whom lack sufficient English proficiency, academic skills, job search skills, and labor market information.

Samoan-oriented programs, or, at minimum, special consideration of Samoan needs and problems, are required, if the unacceptably high rates of Samoan youth unemployment are to be reduced. Intervention with Samoan youth should be designed to meet the varying needs within the population. Some Samoans require English language training and others, whose basic English skills are fairly well developed, would benefit from training in communicational strategies for the workplace. In-school programs should include vocational and career guidance and labor market information; assessments of skills and aptitudes; and, where possible, hands on work experience or internship job training. Following these training and assessment activities, Samoan youth will be fully enabled to participate in and benefit from job search skills training.

Many Samoan youth appear to have little future orientation. They lack awareness of career options available to them in the United States; they do not know how to plan for their careers. Samoan youth who aspire to higher education and professional careers have insufficient knowledge about college financial aid and the academic planning necessary to pursue higher education. They are ignorant of services that can assist them. These are cultural as well as academic problems and can only be successfully overcome through direct programmatic intervention, designed for and with the Samoan population.

APPENDIX A

PROFILE OF FIELDWORK CONTACTS AND COMMUNITY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Study findings and recommendations derive, in part, from the perspectives and information gathered during fieldwork in each of four areas of concentrated Samoan residence -- greater Honolulu; the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, with additional information from Orange and San Diego Counties; the San Francisco Bay area; and Seattle-Tacoma -- and the responses to initial findings reported back to service agency professionals and the Samoan communities in the first three of the above-named metropolitan areas. In each community the broadest possible spectrum of opinion was sought, including Samoan community leaders, representative Samoan families, Samoan youth in and out of school, staff of agencies providing services to Samoans, and bilingual Samoan professional staff. The three community conferences drew participants from all these constituencies; public and elected officials were invited as well. These activities are described in greater detail in the section "Methodology" in Chapter I, above.

Contacts during Fieldwork

Samoan community representatives, individually interviewed (total 167)

Matai (chiefs)	28	
Ministers	23	
Local scholars	5	
Professional athletes	2	
Other leaders	5	
Families	73	
Bilingual professionals	31	(also enumerated among service providers, below)

Group meetings within the Samoan communities (total meetings 63)

Entry meetings	4
General meetings	2
Leaders meeting	2
Church member meetings	17

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Youth meetings	17	
Church youth	2	
High school students	5	
College students	5	
Dropouts	1	(Los Angeles)
Street gangs	1	(Los Angeles)
General	4	
Woman's meetings	8	
Senior meetings	6	
Parents meetings	1	(Seattle)
Bilingual service providers	4	

In addition, in one site (Honolulu) field staff appeared on a radio show to take call in questions and discuss the Study.

Service providers and policy makers, individually interviewed (total 79)

Human services	15	
Youth services	1	
Immigrant services	1	(Samoan)
Welfare/public assistance	6	(2 Samoan)
General services	7	(2 Samoan)
Justice services	4	
Youth corrections	1	(Samoan)
General justice	3	(1 Samoan)
Educational services	22	
Principals & vice principals	3	(1 Samoan)
Subject teachers	9	(4 Samoan)
ESL teachers	6	(3 Samoan)
Bilingual/bicultural program staff	1	(Samoan)
Classroom aides	1	(Samoan)
Career/academic counselors	2	
Employment & training	25	
JTPA & SYEP	4	
Vocational training	6	(2 Samoan)
Employment	8	
Emploment & training	6	(1 Samoan)
Samoan community-based organizations	10	(10 Samoan)
Congressional staff	3	(1 Samoan)

Among these interviewees, approximately 15 percent, distributed in all of the primary service areas, were in policy-making positions.

Community Conference Participants

Community Conferences were held in Honolulu, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

General attendance (total 108)

Honolulu	38	Samoans	72
Los Angeles	44	Non-Samoans	36
San Francisco	26		

Samoan community leaders (total 47)

Matai (chiefs)	15
Ministers	16
Community organization leaders	16 (representing 11 different community-based organizations)

Service providers and policy makers (total 49)

Human services	10
Immigration	1
Veterans' services	1
General services	8
Justice services	2
Educational services	9
Employment & training	6
JTPA	1
Employment	3
Vocational training	1
PIC	1
Public officeholders & staff	3
Congressional staff	1
Gubenatorial staff	1
City Councilman	1

Project representatives (total 24)

Study staff	15
Advisory Board	9

Other (total 7)

Scholars	3
Media professionals	2
Labor union staff	1
Attorney	1

Note: Some individuals appear in more than one entry above.

APPENDIX B

RANGE OF POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SAMOANS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

TABLE B-1

PROJECTED SAMOAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1980-2000

Projection and Year	Total	Hawaii	California	Other States	Average Annual Increase
Projection I:					
1980	46,000	15,500	22,000	8,500	--
1985	53,500	18,000	25,500	10,000	1,500
1990	62,000	21,000	29,500	11,500	1,600
1995	72,000	24,000	34,500	13,500	2,000
2000	84,000	28,000	40,000	16,000	2,400
Projection II					
1980	46,000	15,500	22,000	8,500	--
1985	65,000	22,000	31,000	12,000	3,800
1990	92,000	31,000	44,000	17,000	5,400
1995	129,000	43,500	61,500	24,000	7,400
2000	182,000	61,000	87,000	34,000	10,600
Projection III					
1980	46,000	15,500	22,000	8,500	--
1985	64,000	21,500	20,500	12,000	3,600
1990	86,500	29,000	41,500	16,000	4,500
1995	115,000	39,000	55,000	21,000	5,700
2000	148,500	50,000	71,000	27,500	6,700
Projection IV					
1980	46,000	15,500	22,000	8,500	--
1985	64,000	21,500	30,500	12,000	3,600
1990	84,000	28,500	40,000	15,500	4,000
1995	107,000	36,000	51,000	20,000	4,600
2000	131,000	44,000	62,000	25,000	4,800
Projection V					
1980	46,000	15,500	22,000	8,500	--
1985	65,000	22,000	31,000	12,000	3,800
1990	89,000	30,000	42,500	16,500	4,800
1995	119,000	40,000	57,000	22,000	6,000
2000	159,000	53,500	76,000	29,500	8,000

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

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TABLE B-2

PROJECTION ASSUMPTIONS FOR SAMOANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1980-2000

Projection and Period	Natural Increase	Net Increase	Total
Projection I			
1980-1985	3.0	None	3.0
1985-1990	3.0	None	3.0
1990-1995	3.0	None	3.0
1995-2000	3.0	None	3.0
Projection II			
1980-1985	3.0	4.1	7.1
1985-1990	3.0	4.1	7.1
1990-1995	3.0	4.1	7.1
1995-2000	3.0	4.1	7.1
Projection III			
1980-1985	3.0	3.8	6.8
1985-1990	3.0	3.3	6.3
1990-1995	3.0	2.8	5.8
1995-2000	3.0	2.3	5.3
Projection IV			
1980-1985	2.8	3.8	6.7
1985-1990	2.4	3.3	5.8
1990-1995	2.1	2.8	4.9
1995-2000	1.7	2.3	4.0
Projection V			
1980-1985	2.8	4.1	6.9
1985-1990	2.4	4.1	6.6
1990-1995	2.1	4.1	6.2
1995-2000	1.7	4.1	5.8

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

Note: Rates are applied at the mid-point of each period, are average annual increase in percent, and total may not equal sum of natural increase and migration because of rounding.

TABLE B-3

FOUR ESTIMATES OF THE ANNUAL SAMOAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1951-1980

Year	Estimated Population, using Different 1951 bases				Growth Assumptions			
	I	II	III	IV	Net Mi-gration	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1951	1,200	1,634	2,249	3,039	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1952	1,657	2,106	2,743	3,561	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1953	2,131	2,596	3,255	4,101	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1954	2,621	3,103	3,785	4,661	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1955	3,129	3,628	4,334	5,241	408	.045	.0093	.0357
1956	3,654	4,171	4,902	5,690	1,161	.0436	.0093	.0343
1957	4,959	5,493	6,249	7,063	1,161	.0436	.0093	.0343
1958	6,308	6,859	7,641	8,436	1,161	.0436	.0093	.0343
1959	7,722	8,295	9,105	9,978	1,161	.0436	.0065	.0371
1960	9,189	9,783	10,623	11,528	1,161	.0436	.0065	.0371
1961	10,710	11,325	12,196	13,134	574	.042	.0065	.0355
1962	11,671	12,308	13,210	14,181	574	.042	.0065	.0355
1963	12,666	13,325	14,259	15,265	574	.042	.0065	.0355
1964	13,697	14,379	15,346	16,387	574	.042	.0065	.0355
1965	14,793	15,470	16,470	17,548	574	.037	.005	.0320
1966	15,817	16,545	17,578	18,689	877	.037	.005	.0320
1967	17,211	17,962	19,028	20,174	877	.037	.005	.0320
1968	18,649	19,424	20,524	21,707	877	.035	.005	.030
1969	20,085	20,894	22,026	23,244	877	.035	.005	.030
1970	21,584	22,406	23,573	24,827	877	.035	.005	.030
1971	23,118	23,964	25,166	26,458	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1972	25,592	26,463	27,701	29,031	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1973	28,139	29,037	30,311	31,681	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1974	30,763	31,687	32,999	34,410	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1975	33,465	34,417	35,768	37,221	1,758	.035	.005	.030
1976	36,247	37,227	38,619	40,115	1,926	.035	.005	.030
1977	39,283	40,292	41,725	43,267	1,926	.035	.005	.030
1978	42,409	43,448	44,924	46,512	1,926	.035	.005	.030
1979	45,629	46,699	48,219	49,854	1,926	.035	.005	.030
1980	46,573	47,652	49,186	50,834	...	...	...	...

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

Note: Census dates used were September 25 for 1951, 1956, and 1961, November 21 for 1966, November 3 for 1971 and April 1 for 1980.

TABLE B-4

ESTIMATED UNDERCOUNT OF SAMOANS IN THE 1980 UNITED STATES CENSUS

	Estimated populations, using Different 1951 bases			
	I	II	III	IV
Estimated population, September 25, 1951	1,200	1,634	2,249	3,039
Expected population, April 1, 1980	46,573	47,652	49,186	50,834
Enumerated population, April 1, 1980	41,948	41,948	41,948	41,948
Difference between expected and enumerated	4,625	5,704	7,238	8,886
Percent of expected population	9.90	12.0	14.72	17.48
Implied coverage (percent complete)	90.10	88.00	85.28	82.52
Implied growth rate (average annual percent)	12.97	11.90	10.83	9.85

Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983(a).

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